CULTURAL HORIZONS OF INDIA

VOLUME 2

Prof. LOKESH CHANDRA

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CULTURAL HORIZONS OF INDIA

ŚATA-PIṬAKA SERIES

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Continued by
LOKESH CHANDRA

आचार्य-रघुवीर-समुपक्रान्तं

जम्बुद्वीप-राष्ट्राणां
(भारत-नेपाल-गान्धार-शूलिक-तुरुष्क-पारस-ताजक-भोट-चीन-मोंगोल-मञ्जु-
उदयवर्ष-सिंहल-सुवर्णभू-श्याम-कम्बुज-चम्पा-द्वीपान्तरादीनां)

एकैकेषां समस्रोतसां संस्कृति-साहित्य-समुच्चय-
सरितां सागरभूतं

शतपिटकम्

CULTURAL HORIZONS OF INDIA

VOLUME 2

Studies in Tantra and Buddhism, art and archaeology, language and literature

by

Prof. LOKESH CHANDRA

edited by

TARA CHANDRIKA

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1. GAṆEŚA IN JAPAN

The manifestation of divinity which our senses can perceive can be expressed in terms of category. All that can be comprehended is a category, a *gaṇa* (*gaṇyante buddhyante te gaṇāḥ*). Category is the fundamental element of existence. Lording over these categories is Gaṇapati, the Cosmic Person. The Elephant-headed Man, as Gaṇapati is, expresses the unity of man the microcosm with the Great Being, the Macrocosm, pictured as an elephant. Gaṇapati is obese, because many universes were born from His belly (*tasyodarāt samutpannaṁ nānāviśvam*), yet He Himself transcends all.

As the spirit of Japan chose the transcendental path in the unique personality of Kobo daishi, Gaṇeśa became a part of Japanese esoterism, of her Mantrayāna. In 804 Kobo daishi (774-835) went to China 'to search the Dharma', where esoterism was at its apogee, with the Chinese translations of basic texts and commentaries accomplished by the great ācāryas of India like Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra.

Amoghavajra or Amoghajñāna (705-774) was a brahmin who arrived at the Chinese capital Lo-yang in 720 and he was ordained at the Kuang-fu temple in Lo-yang. The Chinese Emperor lavished favours on him and he was held in the highest veneration at the court. Yuan-chao wrote of him as "the one who excels all ancients and moderns" in his "Memorials of Amogha, the Tripiṭaka-bhadanta of Eloquence and Wide Wisdom" (T 2120). He was also responsible for collecting all the Sanskrit manuscripts that lay scattered in the monasteries of the empire, for their restoration, translation and propagation. Amogha's major subject of study under Vajrabodhi was the kalpa of Vajradhātu. This formed the fundament for the development of his thought that "the mantric method is a more efficient expedient than the exoteric in practice and achievement" (EBu. 1.485). The translation of complex Mantrayānic texts into Chinese was well-nigh impossible. It was only the genius of Amoghavajra who lived the major part of his life in China and his perfect command of Chinese that enabled him to translate abstruse Sanskrit texts into Chinese with eloquent fluency. He rendered into Chinese the first samaya of the Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṁgraha under the title *Chin-kang-ting-i-ch'ieh-ju-lai-chên-shih-shê-ta-chêng-hsien-chêng-ta-chiao-wang-ching* (whose Sanskrit would be: *Vajraśekhara-Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṁgraha-mahāyāna-pratyutpannābhisambuddha-mahātantrarāja-sūtra,* T 865). Hence onwards it became the foundation of the contemplative systems of esoteric yoga, in which Gaṇeśa occupied a place of honour.

Amoghavajra had a brilliant Chinese disciple Hui-kuo (746-805), from whom Kobo daishi received his *abhiṣeka* or initiation into Mantrayāna. Kobo daishi assimilated the quintessence of the new Way of the Mantra, which had been transplanted to China but was to find its efflorescence and fruition in Japan. In 806 Kobo daishi returned to Japan with profound Gods born unto him, with homa consuming baser passions, his total being illumined by a new vision.

While Kobo daishi carried the sūtras expounding the Vajradhātu, he also took along with him its pictorial representation in the form of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala. Hui-kuo had it drawn for Kobo daishi by the famous painter Li-chên assisted by more than ten other artists. The original maṇḍala was polychrome. In the central Vajradhātu-maṇḍala Gaṇeśa or Vināyaka occurs in five manifestations in the exterior circle of the central square called the mahābhūta-maṇḍala. So, the earliest reference to the worship of Gaṇeśa in Japan can be dated to 806 A.D. the year of Kobo daishi's return to his country.

The Japanese names of Gaṇeśa are Binayaka, Shōden and Kangiten. Binayaka is the most usual appelation in the *Hizoki*. Kangiten denotes the god of happiness, prosperity, and well-being. Shōden can be rendered into Sanskrit as Āryadeva. Besides, specific manifestations have individual names.

The five manifestations of Gaṇeśa in the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala are:

2. Vināyaka is called Binayaka-ten or Kangi-ten the 'god of good luck' in Japanese. In one hand he holds a radish and in the other a *laḍḍu*.

3. According to the *Hizoki*, which is a collection of notes on the divinities and doctrines of Mantrayāna by Kobo daishi[1], one performs circumambulation (*pradakṣiṇā*) from the north-east corner. In the East is Vajracchinna or Kongō-zaiten in Japanese[2]. The *Hizoki* (12b19) terms it a Vināyaka with an umbrella or Chattra-Vināyaka. He holds a white umbrella[3]. He is illustrated alongside (*Esot.* 446).

4. In the South is Vajrabhakṣaṇa or Kongō-jikiten in Japanese. The *Hizoki* (12b 21) calls him Mālya-Vināyaka. He is adorned with a garland of flowers (*Esot.* 451).

---

[1]Some ascribe its authorship to Wen-pi, but the general consensus is that its author was Kobo daishi. It is included in his collected works: *Kobo Daishi Zenshū*, vol. 5. It is also reproduced in TZ. vol.1. All the references are to the TZ.

[2]Tajima 192-196.

[3]T1796, translated by I-hsing or Ichigyō (in Japanese pronunciation), 683-735 A.D., a disciple of Śubhākara-siṁha and Vajrabodhi (*Hōbōgirin*, fascicule annexé, 1931, p.140a s.v. Ichigyō).

#2

#3

#4

#1 see on p.12

5. In the west is Vajravāsin or Kongō-eten in Japanese. According to the *Hizoki* 12b23 he is the Vināyaka carrying a bow and arrow, he is the Dhanur-Vināyaka (*Esot.* 456).

6. In the north is Jaya or Jōbukuten in Japanese. According to the *Hizoki* 12b17 he holds a sword and is of a pale flesh colour. He is the Khaḍga-Vināyaka (*Esot.* 461).

#5

#6

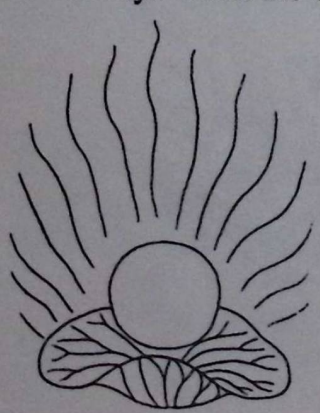
It is worth noting that the *Hizoki* uses Binayaka as the generic appellation for all the epiphanies of Gaṇeśa. Kobo daishi must have obtained it as an oral tradition from Hui-kuo, going back to Amoghavajra and Vajrabodhi. All the five forms of Gaṇeśa are comprised under the Twenty Devas who are guardians of Mantrayāna. They are also enumerated in the *Kongōchōyuga-chūryakushutsunenjukyō* (T 866) translated by Vajrabodhi in 723 A.D. during the T'ang dynasty (Nj 534). The names and the placement of the Gaṇeśa-epiphanies slightly varies from one text to another, e.g. in the *Kiao wang ching* (T 882) which was done into Chinese by Dānapāla in 980-1000 A.D. during the later Sung dynasty from the Sanskrit *Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṁgraha* (Nj 1017). The five Gaṇeśa are also enumerated in the *Kengōjūrokuson* (T 881, Tajima 191).

There are other forms of the Five Gaṇeśa in other parts of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala which comprises the following nine divisions:

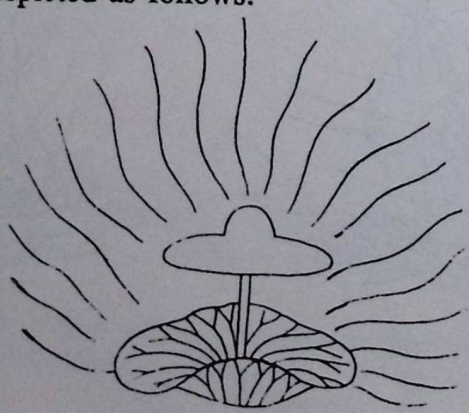
5	6	7
4	1	8
3	2	9

The names of the above nine divisions are: 1. Vajradhātu-mahābhūta-maṇḍala, 2. samaya-maṇḍala, 3. sūkṣma-maṇḍala, 4. pūjā-maṇḍala, 5. caturmudrā-maṇḍala, 6. ekamudrā-maṇḍala, 7. naya-maṇḍala, 8. Trailokyavijaya-karma-maṇḍala, 9. Trailokyavijaya-samaya-maṇḍala. The forms described and depicted above are according to the first mahābhūta-maṇḍala. Out of the remaining eight sub-maṇḍalas, five (nos. 2, 3, 4, 8, 9) depict them in various aspects representing ascending planes of realisation.

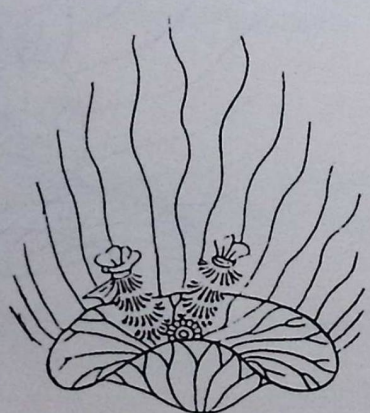
Now we shall take up the forms of Gaṇeśa as depicted in the second samaya-maṇḍala which represents the divinities in their samaya or esoteric form, which is figured by one or more objects or symbols peculiar to each divinity. The samaya is the vow, the resolve, the fundamental characteristic of a divinity (Tajima p.197). The five Gaṇeśa in their samaya forms are depicted as follows:



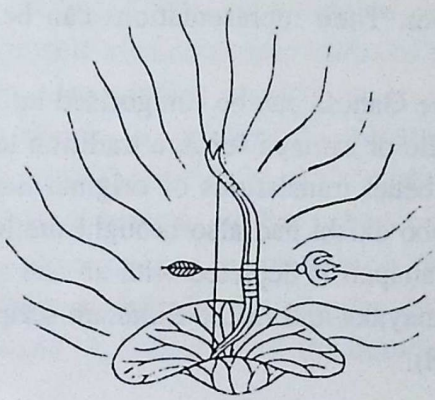
Vināyaka (*Esot.* 537)



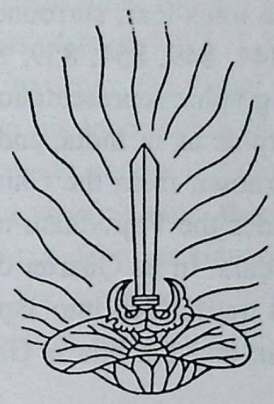
Vajracchinna or Chattra Vināyaka (*Esot.* 523)



Vajrabhakṣaṇa or Mālya-Vināyaka (*Esot.* 528)



Vajravāsin or Dhanur-Vināyaka (*Esot.* 533)



Jaya or Khaḍga-Vināyaka (*Esot.* 538)

The attributes are placed on lotus-leaves with rays of illumination issuing out of them. Vināyaka is represented by a *modaka* or patisserie. The illustrations are from the author's *The Esoteric Iconography of Japanese Maṇḍalas* (with its serial numbers).

In the third sūkṣma-maṇḍala the divinities are represented in their samaya aspect of the subtle and indestructible knowledge of the vajra, the Absolute, whence the *She pa huei che kuei* calls it a sūkṣma-vajra-maṇḍala. Graphically, the divinities are represented addorsed by a three-pronged vajra. The Twenty Devas, which also comprise the Five Gaṇeśa, are not addorsed by a vajra, and hence their forms are nearly the same as in the first mahābhūta-maṇḍala, with minor variations in the position of the hands. Their graphic representations can be seen in *Esot.* (Vināyaka 610, Chattra-Vināyaka 596, Mālya-Vināyaka 601, Dhanur-Vināyaka 606 and Jaya or Khaḍga-Vināyaka 611).

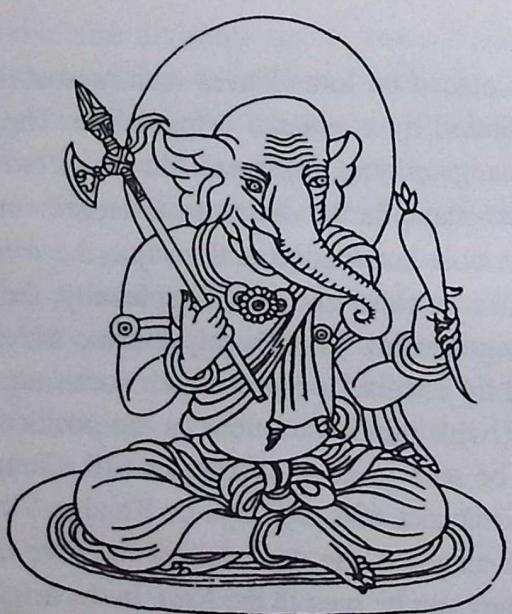
In the fourth pūjā-maṇḍala, the depiction of the Five Gaṇeśa is nearly the same as in the first maṇḍala. They can be seen in the *Esot.* In the original xylograph reproduced by the author, Mālya-Vināyaka (676, 678) and Khaḍga-Vināyaka (671, 685) have been repeated and Chattra-Vināyaka and Dhanur-Vināyaka are lacking. Vināyaka occurs as no. 672.

In the eighth or Trailokyavijaya-karma-maṇḍala the graphic representations are identical with those in the first mahābhūta-maṇḍala.

In the ninth Trailokyavijaya-samaya-maṇḍala the depiction of the Five Gaṇeśa is almost similar to those of the second samaya-maṇḍala. They are represented by their attributes on a lotus-leaf, surrounded by flames. Their representations can be seen in the *Esot.* nos. 844, 849, 854, 859, 860.

The graphic representation of the Five Gaṇeśa can be categorised into: (i) anthropotheriomorphic as in India, and (ii) symbolic or samaya form, a tradition lost in Indian art though known from the Chinese and Tibetan translations of original Sanskrit texts.

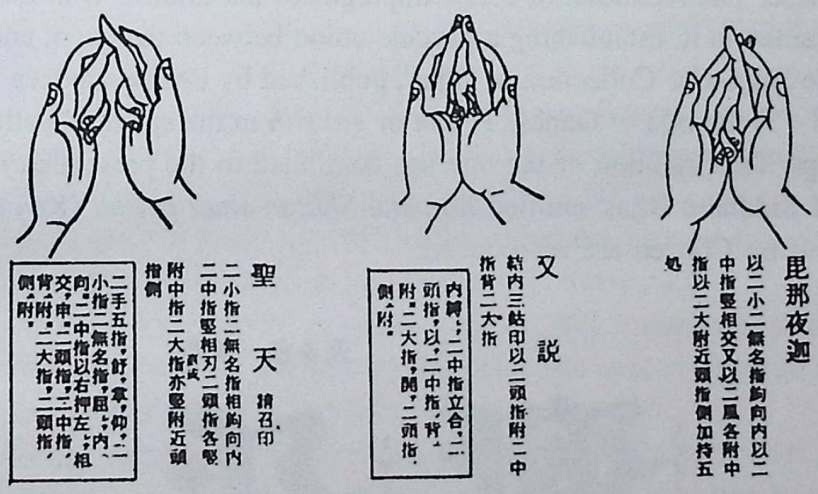
Besides the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala, Kobo daishi had also brought the Mahākaruṇā-garbha-maṇḍala. In its Quarter of Vajras, Gaṇapati is depicted with an axe and a radish. His name is transcribed into Japanese as Binayaka and in the Siddham script it is given as *Gaṇapata,* and the bīja is *GA* (*Esot.* 348).



#1

There is a lovely illustration of this Gaṇeśa with an axe and a radish in a 9th century scroll, kept in the Daigoji monastery at Kyoto, drawn in the 12th year of Konin (A.D. 821) entitled *Shishu-goma-honzon narabini kenzoku zuzō* 'figures of the main divinities and their attendants (*paricara*) of the four kinds of homa' (TZ. 1.837 fig. 20).

In Japanese worship, mudrās are an integral part to evoke the visual presence of divine epiphanies in the mind of the initiate to transform his inner being. According to the Japanese work *Dainichikyō*[4], the mudrās or hand gestures endow the thoughts, consecrations, dhāraṇī-mantra, all that is beyond form with a visible shape, thereby crystallising a trans-material state for meditation. Shōden (lit. Ārya-deva) or Gaṇapati is represented by three mudrās in the popular mudrā-manual for worship entitled *Shingon-mikkyō-zu-in-shū* 'A collection of the drawings of the mudrās of Mantrayāna'.

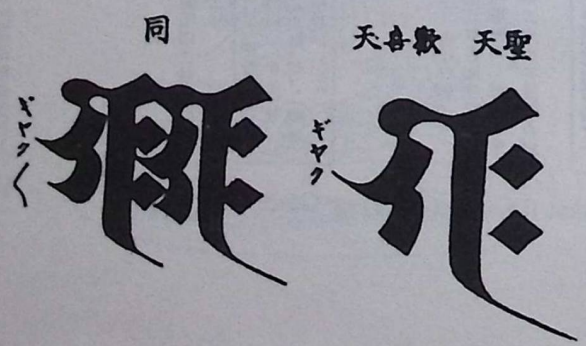


Shōden (lit. Ārya-deva) or Gaṇapati: Vināyaka

[4]Mochizuki, *Bukkyō Daijiten*, p.177a; E. Dale Saunders, *Mudrā* (London 1960), p.35.

The *Bussetsu-Daibirushana-jōbutsu-jimben-kaji-kyō-shū-shingon-gyō-daihi-taizōshō-dai-mandara-ō-futsū-nenju-giki*, a kalpa for the Mahākaruṇodbhava-mahāmaṇḍala, gives five separate mudrās and mantras for the Five Gaṇeśa:
(i) Vināyaka and his consort (TZ 8.147 fig. 333) with the mantra: *oṁ vajra-vināyaka hūṁ.*
(ii) Vajracchinna and Vajracchinnī (*ibid.* fig. 335).
(iii) Vajrabhakṣaṇa and Vajrabhakṣaṇī (*ibid.* fig. 336)
(iv) Vajravāsin and Vajravāsinī (*ibid.* fig. 337).
(v) Vajrajaya and Vajrajayī (*ibid.* fig. 338).

Gaṇeśa has also been represented in bīja form. A bīja or germ-syllable is termed *shuji* in Japanese. The recitation of a bīja impregnates the faithful with the energies and essences contained in it, establishing a psychic union between the adept and the divinity. On p.59 of the *Shuji-shū* 'Collection of Bījas', published by Bhikṣu Chōzen in the Kwambun era (1661-73) the bīja of Gaṇeśa is *gaḥ* or *gaḥgaḥ* in the splendid calligraphy of the Siddham script. This tradition of the bīja has continued to the present day. In a modern 'Collection of Siddham Bījas' entitled *Bon-shu Shittan shuji ruishu* (Koyasan) the bījas as calligraphed by Chōzen are reproduced:



The double *gaḥ* represents the Twin Gaṇeśa with two bodies. In the same text there is another bīja of Gaṇeśa: *kaṁ*, followed by the mantra *oṁ gaḥ goḥ hūṁ svāhā.*

In later Tencho era, in about 824, the Takao maṇḍala was painted from the original polychrome maṇḍala brought back from China by Kobo daishi in 806 A.D. It was copied in gold and silver lines on purple damask silk. Now it is preserved at the Jingōji monastery. All the Five Gaṇeśa are painted in colours in all their manifestations in the six parts of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala.

Another copy of the original polychrome maṇḍala was kept at the Tōji monastery. In the end of the 9th century its first copy was prepared. It was discovered in 1934 in a black-lacquer box which has a lacquered inscription at the back of the lid dated 899 A.D. It is kept at the Shingon-in temple. Herein are delineated all the manifestations of the Five Gaṇeśa.

During the Kenkyū era (1190-1198) the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala was painted on silk from the original Tōji maṇḍala. It has all the manifestations of the Five Gaṇeśa in its six sub-maṇḍalas.

Late in the Kamakura period, in the Einin era (1293-1298) the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala was once again painted from the original Tōji maṇḍala. Being used over a long period, its colours have peeled off. It has all the manifestations of the Five Gaṇeśa.

The Five Gaṇeśa are depicted in their exoteric and esoteric manifestations in the following scrolls of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala:

(i) In the Kōzanji scroll. Towards the end of the Kamakura period, in the 14th century, a new copy of the Takao maṇḍala was painted which was handed down in the Kōzanji monastery, Kyoto.

(ii) In the Keishō-in scroll. In 1693 bhikṣu Shūkaku painted the maṇḍala for the donator Keishō-in. This is the copy in use at the Tōji Monastery.

(iii) In 1773 bhikṣu Jōtō of Koyasan got the Tōji maṇḍala copied by Shimizu Nobumasa for being printed by wooden blocks. The size was reduced to one-fourth of the original. The woodblocks perished in a fire.

(iv) In the Hasedera scroll. In 1834 bhikṣus Yūkō and Kainyo of the Buzan school commissioned the painter Tōshuku Hasegawa to copy the Tōji maṇḍala, to commemorate the 1000th anniversary of the nirvāṇa of Kobo daishi.

(v) In the Omuro woodblock edition. In 1869 Sompō of the Shima province got the woodblocks of bhikṣu Hōun prepared. They are remarkable for their clarity, and have been reproduced in this paper.

The Five Gaṇeśa are illustrated in their various manifestations in texts on the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala:

(i) *Kongō-kai-mandara,* kept at the Daigoji monastery, Kyoto (TZ 1.1021 etc.).

(ii) The *Kongō-kai-sammaya-mandara-zu* kept at the Ishiyamaji monastery depicts only the samaya forms of the Five Gaṇeśa (TZ 1.1082).

(iii) The *Sammaya-gyō-Hōrin-in-bon* 'Book of Samaya Symbols' once owned by the Hōrin-in monastery, but now preserved at the Daigoji monastery, Kyoto depicts the symbolic forms of Five Gaṇeśa (TZ 1.1129, etc.).

(iv) The *Gohitsu-shishu-goma-dan-sanjūshichi-son-kengō-sammaya-gyō* 'the samaya symbols of the 37 divinities, 16 Bodhisattvas of the Bhadrakalpa for the four kinds of homa altars', kept at the Daigoji, Kyoto illustrates the Five Gaṇeśa in their samaya form (TZ 1.1157, 1158 fig. 47, 48, 51, 52, 53).

Besides the main form of Vināyaka (with axe and radish) in the Mahākaruṇa-garbha-maṇḍala, and the multiple forms of the five manifestations in the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala, there are also other representations of Gaṇeśa in Japan. While the forms of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala are two-armed (*dvi-bhuja*), elsewhere the forms of Gaṇeśa are four-armed or six-armed or twin. Besides the Five Gaṇeśa in the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala, there is another concatenation of Four Gaṇeśa which is first depicted by Shinkaku in the 12th century, then by Shōchō in the 13th century, and in the *Zuzō-shō*. Some of them have been repeated individually in other series in works to be detailed hereafter.

FOUR GAṆEŚA

Shinkaku (?-1180 A.D.) wrote a description of divinities i.e. the *Besson-zakki* which is now preserved in 57 scrolls at the Ninnaji monastery, Kyoto. In his *magnum opus* Shinkaku has described the images of Gaṇeśa, given His mantra, and drawn four forms of Shōden or Gaṇeśa, all in a standing posture. Fig. 233 is four-armed, fig. 234 and 235 are six-armed though with varying attributes, and fig. 236 is Twin, i.e. two forms embracing each other (TZ 3.532 ff.)

In the 13th century, Shōchō (1205-1282) of the Tendai sect wrote his comprehensive work on divinities entitled *Asava-shō*. Asava is a collocation of Sanskrit bīja-mantras wherein *a* represents Tathāgata the Unborn Eternal (*aja*), *sa* stands for lotus, and *va* for vajra; the three bījas symbolising the mantras of every divinity belonging to the Mahākaruṇodbhava-maṇḍala. The author devotes section 149 to Kangiten or Gaṇeśa and His worship (TZ 9.477-487). He begins by giving the Sanskrit name *Gaṇapati* in Siddham letters, followed by the Japanese names *Binayaka* and *Shōden*. Four Gaṇeśa are delineated. Figure 84 depicts the arrangement of three altars for the pūjā of Gaṇeśa: for the morning offering, late night offering and daytime offering. Figure 85 shows the

arrangement of the general pūjā of Vināyaka deva with the placement of the offerings of soup, boiled rice, cakes, radish, fire for homa, etc. (TZ 9.482 plate 85).

Section 150 is devoted to the worship of Udaka-Gaṇapati who is not pictured. The arrangement of his altar is drawn in TZ 9.487.

The *Zuzō-shō* 'selection of figures' which is preserved at the Entsūji monastery (Koyasan) in ten scrolls, describes and illustrates the Four Gaṇeśa as follows (TZ 3.42 figs. 98-101).

7. Ṣaḍbhuja (six-armed) Gaṇeśa (fig. 98). His six hands hold the mace, tusk, noose/sword, bowl and cakra.

8. Caturbhuja (four-armed) Gaṇeśa (fig. 99). His four hands hold the *laḍḍu,* axe/ mace and tusk.

#7

8#

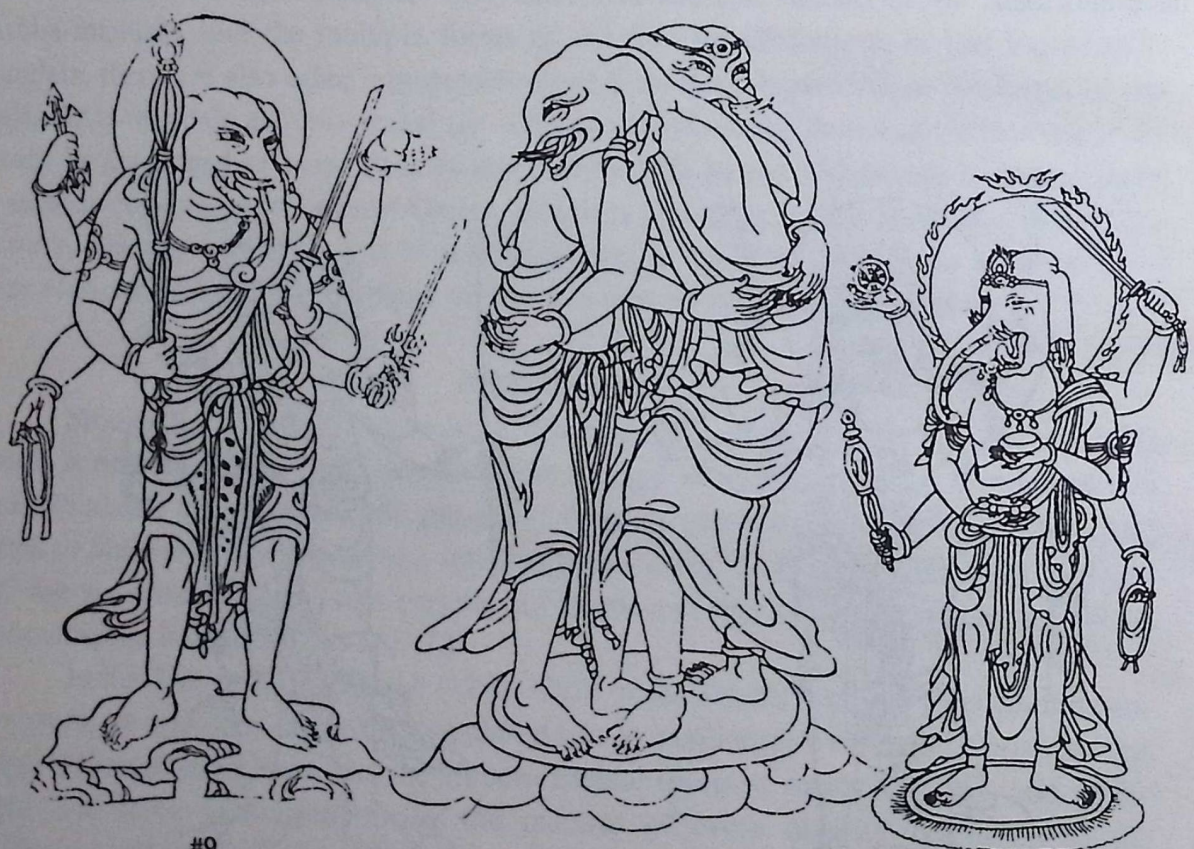
9. Suvarṇa-Gaṇapati or the golden-coloured Gaṇapati: the word Gaṇapati is transliterated in Kanji (fig. 100). His six hands hold the goad, mace, noose/*laḍḍu*, sword and vajra-sword.

10. Twin Gaṇeśa (fig. 101)

OTHER FORMS

Shinkaku compiled the *Shoson-zuzō* 'Figures of Divinities' in two fascicules, now kept in the Kanchi-in temple of the Tōji monastery, Kyoto. Herein are illustrated six forms of Gaṇeśa, out of which two are new:

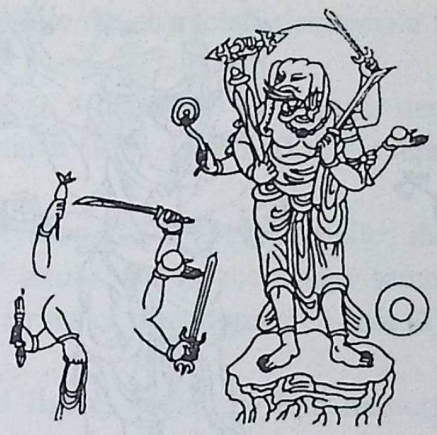
11. Ṣaḍbhuja Gaṇeśa (TZ 3.739 fig.93).



#9 #10 #11

Twin Gaṇeśa (*ibid.* fig. 94)=10.
Gaṇeśa with axe and radish (*ibid.* fig. 95)=1.
Suvarṇa-Gaṇapati with six arms (*ibid.* 3.741 fig. 96)=9.

12. Another form of Suvarṇa Gaṇapati (*ibid.* fig. 96).



#12

Ṣaḍbhuja Gaṇeśa (*ibid.* fig. 97)=7.

Kakuzen wrote a detailed study of all the divinities and also drew their illustrations during 1183-1213. They are preserved at the Kajūji monastery of Kyoto in 136 scrolls, besides copies in monasteries at Koyasan and Tokyo. It depicts nine different forms of Gaṇeśa (TZ 5.439-444) with detailed descriptions:

Twin Gaṇeśa (fig. 335, 336).

Caturbhuja Gaṇeśa (fig. 337)=8.

13. Caturbhuja Gaṇeśa (fig. 338). His four hands hold the noose,—/vajra, and axe. (illustrations on the following page).

14. Ṣaḍbhuja Gaṇeśa (fig. 339). His six hands hold the noose, mace, goad/sword, *laḍḍu,* and *cakra.*

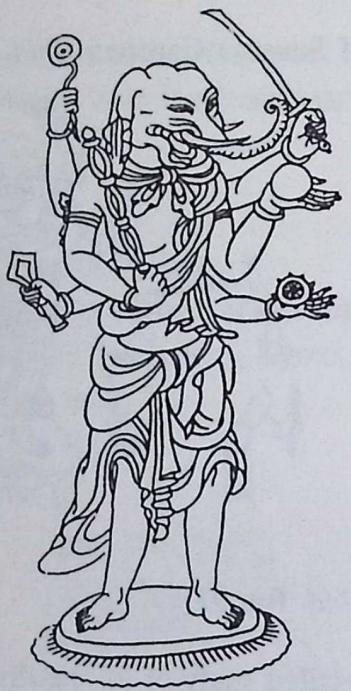
15. Ṣaḍbhuja Gaṇeśa (5.442 fig. 340). His six hands hold a mace, goad, noose/sword, *laḍḍu* and *cakra.*

16. Three-headed Four-armed Gaṇeśa (5.443 fig. 341). Two hands are folded and the other two hold a radish and *laḍḍu* each.

17. Three-headed Four-armed Gaṇeśa (5.444 fig. 342). His four hands hold a mace, —, sword, and *laḍḍu.*

18. Twin Gaja-śīrṣa Varāha-śīrṣa Gaṇeśa (fig.347). He is the elephant-headed and boar-headed twin Gaṇeśa.

#13



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#18

The epiphanies of Gaṇeśa described above are repeated in other texts, some of which are specified below. While the characteristics remain the same, their sequence in the hands is slightly altered.

The Tōji monastery has a *Shōten-zō* or a sheet depicting the figure of Twin Gaṇeśa. It was drawn by Chinkai (1091-1152 A.D.). It is reproduced in TZ, vol. 7, sheet 13, no.223.

In the 14th century Ryōson (1279-1349) compiled the *Byaku-hok-ku-shō* 'White Jewel Oral Traditions' in 167 scrolls, kept at the Kongō-sammai-in monastery, Koyasan. Its sections 130-134 detail the rites of worshipping Gaṇeśa (TZ 7.171-198). There are no illustrations in this text.

In the *Shika-shō-zuzō* 'figures copied by four masters' Gaṇeśa is represented in four forms:

(i) Ṣaḍbhuja (six-armed) Gaṇeśa (TZ 3.910 fig. 221=11.

(ii) Vināyaka with an axe and a radish (*ibid.* fig. 222)=1.

(iii, iv) Suvarṇa-Gaṇapati with six arms, in two forms (*ibid.* fig. 223)=9,12.

In the *Jō-bodai-shū* 'collection for the realisation of enlightenment', compiled by Eihan, there is a chapter for the sādhana of Gaṇeśa (TZ 8.750).

In the *Shozon-zuzō-shū* 'collection of figures of divinities', three scrolls kept at Kanazawa-bunko, Kanazawa four forms of Gaṇeśa are delineated:

(i) Ṣaḍbhuja (six-armed) Gaṇeśa (TZ 12.926 fig. 79)=11.

(ii) Twin Gaṇeśa (*ibid.* fig. 80).

(iii) Vināyaka (*ibid.* fig. 81)=1.

(iv) Ṣaḍbhuja (six-armed) Gaṇeśa (*ibid.* fig. 82).

Thus we see that the iconography of Gaṇeśa is very rich in Japan. The different iconic representations may be summed up as follows:

1. Vināyaka (axe and radish)

FIVE GAṆEŚA (all are two-armed)

2. Vināyaka (*laḍḍu* and radish)
3. Chattra-Vināyaka or Vajracchinna (umbrella)
4. Mālya-Vināyaka or Vajrabhakṣaṇa (garland)
5. Dhanur-Vināyaka or Vajravāsin (bow and arrow)
6. Khaḍga-Vināyaka or Jaya (sword)

All have esoteric forms, bījas and mudrās.

FOUR GAṆEŚA

7. Ṣaḍbhuja Gaṇeśa. His six hands hold: mace, tusk, noose/sword, bowl, cakra
8. Caturbhuja Gaṇeśa. His four hands hold: *laḍḍu,* axe/mace, tusk
9. Suvarṇa-Gaṇapati. His six hands hold: goad, mace, noose/ *laḍḍu,* sword, vajra-sword
10. Twin Gaṇeśa.

OTHER FORMS

11. Ṣaḍbhuja Gaṇeśa. His six hands hold: cakra, tusk, mace/sword, bowl, noose
12. Suvarṇa-Gaṇapati. His six hands hold: radish, vajra, noose/sword, *laḍḍu,* vajra-sword
13. Caturbhuja Gaṇeśa. His four hands hold: noose, ?/vajra, axe
14. Ṣaḍbhuja Gaṇeśa. His six hands hold: noose, mace, goad/sword, *laḍḍu,* cakra
15. Ṣaḍbhuja Gaṇeśa. His six hands hold: mace, goad, noose/sword, *laḍḍu,* cakra (a variation of no.14)
16. Three-headed Four-armed Gaṇeśa. Two hands are folded and the other two hold a radish and *laḍḍu* each.
17. Three-headed Four-armed Gaṇeśa. His four hands hold: mace, ?/sword, *laḍḍu*
18. Twin Gaja-śīrṣa Varāha-śīrṣa Gaṇeśa.

Gaṇeśa is still worshipped in Japan. At the Jingoji monastery of Takao a special temple is consecrated to the esoteric Twin Gaṇeśa and every year a worship is held in his honour. In some other Mantrayānic monasteries too special shrines are dedicated to Gaṇeśa. Homes in Koyasan are hallowed by Gaṇeśa. On the last day of my stay at Koyasan, I sat on a bench for the bus to the railway station. Curiosity took me inside the shop and there was a graceful image of a standing Gaṇeśa in white wood. My repeated entreaties to the shop-owner to give it to me only evoked smiles and polite bowings. Alas for my vain desire! The overflowing bounty of the grace of Gaṇeśa still glimmers in the adoring hearts of Japan.

Indo-Asian Studies (Acharya RaghuVira Commemoration Volume) 3 (1972).121-146.

神賀宇　天財辨

2. SARASVATĪ IN JAPANESE ART

Saras-vatī 'the flowing eloquence', is the Goddess of Wisdom, the mother of speech expressing Herself in creativity. She is the transcendent word. On the mythic plane, She is the Consort of Viṣṇu, together with Lakṣmī. In Japan, Sarasvatī (*Benten or Benzaiten* in Japanese) figures along with Lakṣmī in the eighth century. In the annals of the Tōdai-ji monastery[1] it is said that the first ceremony of *Kichijō-gekka* celebrating the worship of Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī was held for the first time in the year 722 A.D. This may well be the year in which the two images were first consecrated. Ever since, the *Kichijō-gekka* has been an annual celebration at the Tōdai-ji at Nara.

The Tōdai-ji image of Sarasvatī belongs to the 'serene' (*śānta*) type in contrast to the 'violent' (*krodha*) manifestations of divinities. The *śānta* aspect is reflected in the modelling of the graceful narrow eyes and placid lips. This Sarasvatī image originally had eight arms, out of which five arms survive, with none of the original attributes. Her eight hands once held the bow, arrow, sword, trident, axe, vajra, cakra (wheel of the Law), and rope. The image was a casualty of the catastrophic fire that broke out in 954 A.D., as recorded in the *Tōdai-ji yoroku* no.4, a work written during the Fujiwara period. The two images were sheltered in Sangatsu-dō hall as 'guest gods'. They are reduced to whitish clay colour, revealing that they are of unbaked clay. The height of Sarasvatī is six and a half feet.

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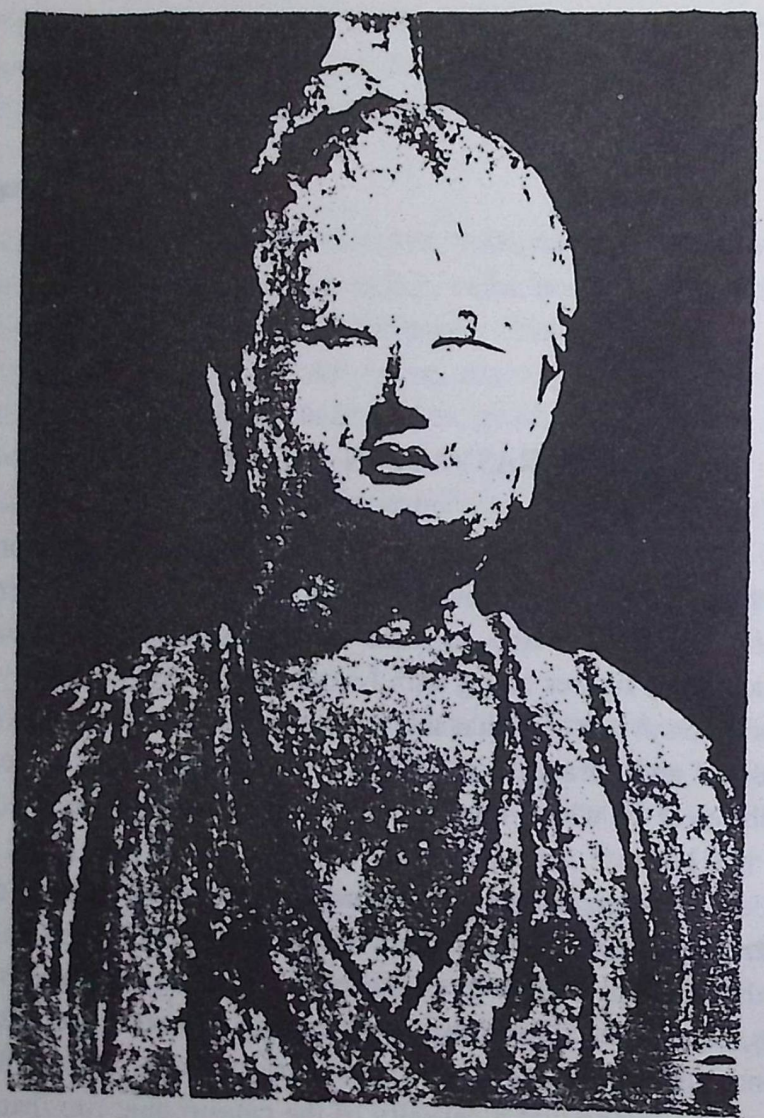
[1]Langdon Warner, *Japanese Sculpture of the Tempyo Period* (Masterpieces of the eighth century), Cambridge, Mass. 1964, pl. 66b, 67b (description on page 104). Also see plate 105 (description on p.280) in J. Edward Kidder, Jr., *Masterpieces of Japanese Sculpture*, Tokyo 1961.



The worship of Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī has remained popular ever since the Tōdai-ji monastery ceremonies for improved crops in 764 A.D. The eight-armed Sarasvatī is shown in the work *Besson-zakki* 'description of divinities' written by Shinkaku (?-1180 A.D.) and now preserved at the Ninna-ji monastery, Kyoto in 57 scrolls. It gives the following mantra for Sarasvatī in the Siddham script: *sarasvatyai svāhā, namo sarasvatyai mahādevyai svāhā, namo bhagavati mahādevi sarasvati, sidhyantu mantrapadāni svāhā*. It illustrates four different forms:

1. Sarasvatī with a lyre (87.238: TZ 3.550)

2. Sarasvatī with a lute or vīṇā (87.239: TZ 3.550)

3. Eight-armed Sarasvatī, with all the eight attributes of the Tōdai-ji Sarasvatī except a bamboo-stick instead of the trident (87.240: TZ 3.551)

4. Six-armed Sarasvatī, with the two hands in namaskāra, sword, trident (?), vajra-bell, rope (87.241: TZ 3.551).

#1

#2

#3

#4

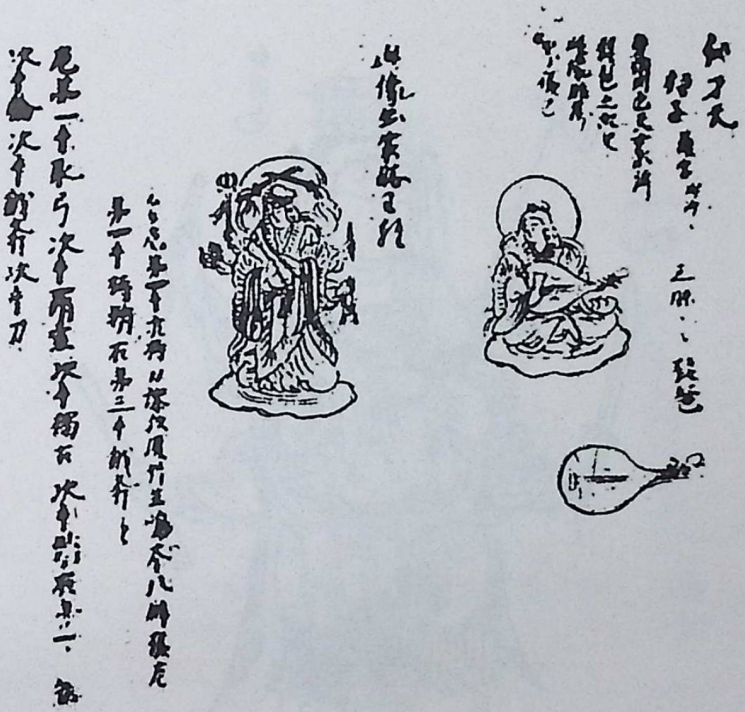
Eight-armed Sarasvatī is painted on a panel of the miniature shrine of Śrīdevī, dating to 1212 A.D., preserved at the Tokyo University of Fine Arts, Tokyo.[2] She has the usual attributes of the Eight-armed form, but is surrounded by two dharmapālas at the top and two Goddesses Hārīti and Mārīci at the bottom.

[2]Illustrated in colour in the Shogakkan series on Japanese art, vol.7 pl.30.

The Eight-armed Sarasvatī also appears in the encyclopaedic work *Asabashō* by Shōchō (1205-1282 A.D.). It has the usual eight attributes in the illustration (264§155 fig.90: TZ 9.506 in colour), while in the text the lute/vīṇā is depicted as her *samaya* or esoteric symbol.

Zuzō-shō 'selection of figures' kept at the Entsū-ji monastery at Koyasan (86.123: TZ 3 plate 123 in colour), illustrates the usual form of the Eight-armed Sarasvatī.

The *Shika-shō-zuzō* 'figures copied by four masters' illustrates the Eight-armed Sarasvatī with a slight variation: instead of sword and axe there are two crossed swords (89.218: TZ 3.907). The other form of Sarasvatī (89.217) with *vīṇā* is also illustrated.



In the *Daigo-bon-zuzō* or 'figures in a fascicle kept at the Daigo-ji monastery', Kyoto, Eight-armed Sarasvatī is illustrated where the trident is replaced by a bamboo rod (93.5: TZ 4.40).

In a scroll kept at the Daigo-ji, Kyoto entitled *Tembu-gyō-zō*, the Eight-armed Sarasvatī is sketched in a perfunctory manner, and the arm carrying the rope has been overlooked (214.20: TZ 7.611). In the same scroll another image with lotus and cintāmaṇi (214.19: TZ 7.610) is also labelled Sarasvatī, though by virtue of its attributes it could be identified as Śrīdevī Lakṣmī.

In the *Shoson-zuzō-shū* 'collection of the figures of many divinities' kept at Kanazawa-bunko, Kanazawa the usual form of Eight-armed Sarasvatī is illustrated (298.46: TZ 12.890) with two donors paying homage with offerings. These scrolls also illustrate the Two-armed Sarasvatī with a lyre (298.47: TZ 12.892), and with a vīṇā (298.45: TZ 12.889).

In India, the Eight-armed Sarasvatī seems to be rare. At the Khajuraho Museum an eight-handed image has vīṇā in the lower two hands, with the upper right hand playing upon it and the remaining five are broken (Agarwal 1964:60). Another Indian form of the Eight-armed Sarasvatī has the following attributes: *vīṇā,* book, rosary, elephant hook, but "she is also shown with an arrow, a mace, a spear, a discus, a conch, a bell, a plough, and a bow (Karapatri, *Śrī-Bhagavatī-tattva,* p.183, Daniélou 1964:260)". None of these forms is exactly the same as the Japanese, though a number of attributes are common.

TWO-ARMED SARASVATĪ

Besides the Eight-armed Sarasvatī, the other Japanese form is the Two-armed Sarasvatī. Four-armed[3] Sarasvatī did not reach Japan.

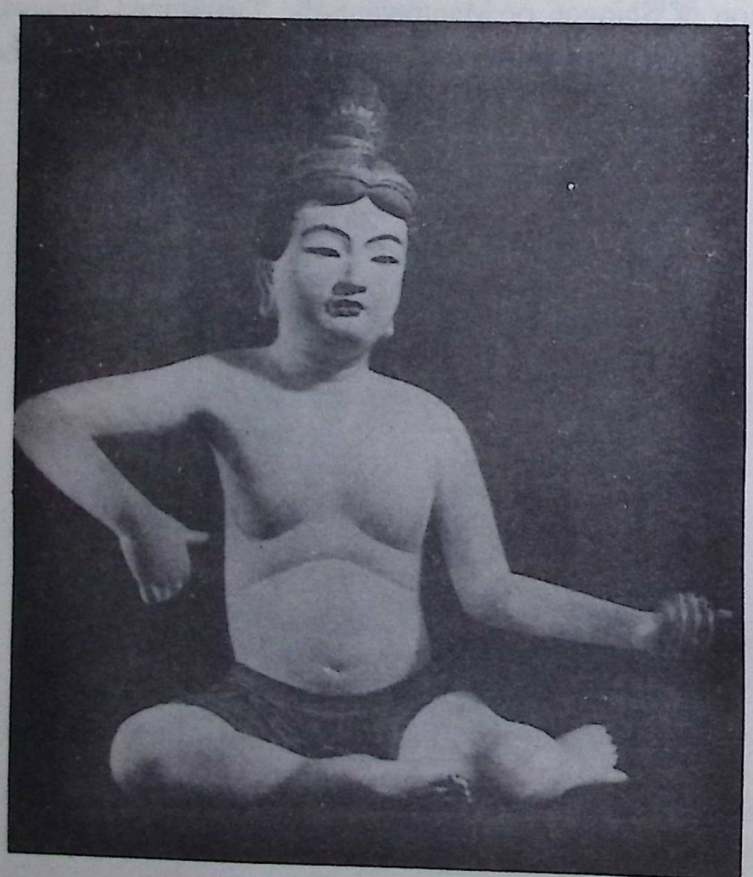
The Two-armed Sarasvatī playing on a vīṇā (*biwa in* Japanese) was painted for the first time in the Mahākaruṇāgarbha Maṇḍala brought by Kōbō daishi from China in 806 A.D., as one of the Twin Maṇḍalas. They were painted several times in Japan. The earliest extant copies are dated to 824 A.D. (Takao maṇḍalas), 899 A.D. (copy kept at Shingon-in, Toji), 952 A.D. (Daigo-ji maṇḍalas), mid-Heian period (Kojima maṇḍalas), 1035 A.D. (Ken-i's monochrome copy), 1112 A.D., 1190-98 (Kenkyū era), and so on.[4] In this maṇḍala Sarasvatī occurs in the outer quarter of vajras on bottom left. Alongwith the rich pantheon of Shingon or Mantrayāna the Two-armed Sarasvatī became widely venerated. She is reproduced below from the Omuro (i.e. Ninnaji) woodprint which goes back to Ken-i's copy of 1035 A.D. (Lokesh Chandra 1971:no.331).

[3]Agarwal 1964:59-60; and Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann, *Les Enseignements Iconographiques de l'Agni-Purāṇa*, Paris 1963, pp.189-195 for the Four-armed Sarasvatī.

[4]See Lokesh Chandra 1971 for a detailed history of the Twin Maṇḍalas.

In the Reihōkan Museum at Koyasan there is a lovely painting of Two-armed Sarasvatī playing vīṇā, sitting on a rock. It is drawn in ink on silk and belongs to the Two Dynasties period (Yamamoto 1965: pl.51).

At the Tsurugaoka Hachiman shrine, there is a 13th century image of Two-armed Sarasvatī which was intended to be dressed in silken garments and to be given a small vīṇā. During the period it was sculpted, there was a strong trend towards realism. Images of deities and monks were carved and then draped in real robes. This explains the isolated nude figure of goddess Sarasvatī, despite the total absence of nude feminine figures in Japanese art (Noma 1966:186 pl.173).



In the *Shishu-goma-honzon narabini kenzoku-zuzō* 'figures of the main divinities and their attendants of the four kinds of homa' drawn in the style of Chisen in 821 A.D., there is a Two-armed Sarasvatī holding a lyre (37.56: TZ 1.852).

In the 13th century work of Ryōson (1279-1349 A.D.) entitled *Byakuhokku-shō* 'the White Jewel Oral Tradition', chapter 149 is devoted to the rites of Sarasvatī (194§149: TZ 7.267 ff, no illustration).

Nijūhachi-bu-shū narabini jūni-shinshō-zu 'figures of 28 species of beings and 12 divine generals', copied in 1359 A.D., illustrates Sarasvatī guṇadevī with two hands, one in mudrā and the other holding a lotus flower (198.12: TZ 7.494).

Two-armed Sarasvatī appears with two tridents (96.1: TZ 4.67) in *Kuhara bonzuzō* 'figures in a copy kept by Mr. Kuhara'.

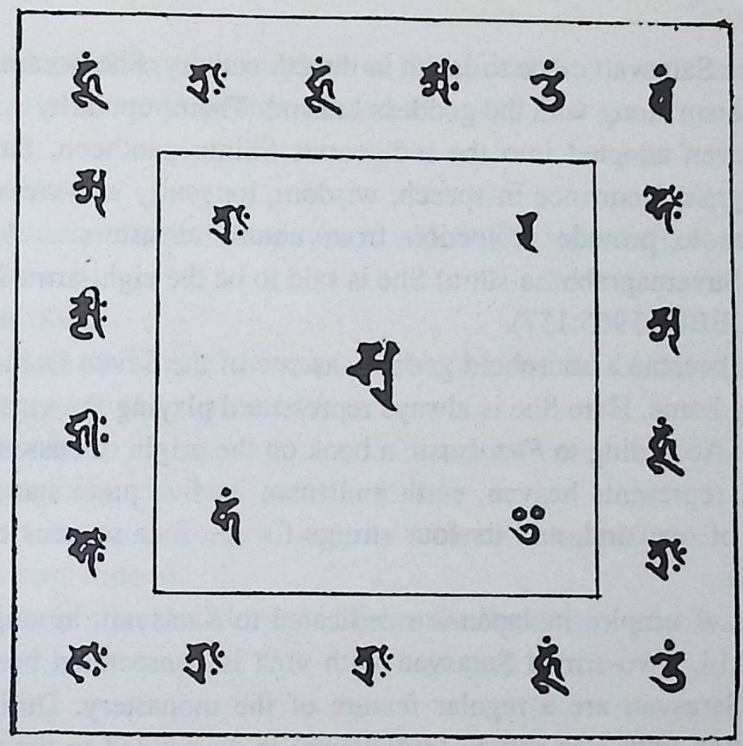
Jō-bodai-shū 'collection for the realisation of Enlightenment (*bodhi*)', compiled by Eihan devotes a section to Sarasvatī (263§4.3: TZ 8.729, no illustration).

There is a voluminous work on the two maṇḍalas in 151 scrolls, entitled *Byakuhoshō* 'White Jewel Compendium' where mantras to Sarasvatī are cited (265: TZ 10.1132, no illustration) and the rites are detailed.

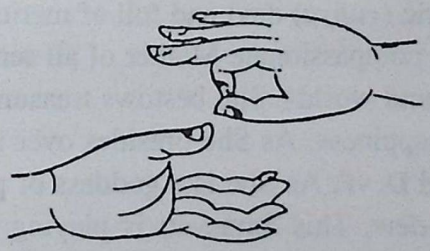
Sarasvatī was represented on the verbal plane as the bījākṣara or symbolic syllable *su* in the *Shuji-shū* 'collection of bījas' published by bhikṣu Chōzen in the Kwambun era (1661-73 A.D.).

The *Mikkyō Daijiten* 'Dictionary of Esoteric Buddhism' (2nd ed., Kyoto 1969) illustrates the bīja-maṇḍala of Sarasvatī under the entry *Benzaitennyō-mandara* 4.1980.

神祇宇　天財辨



Sarasvatī has a specific hand-posture, namely, vīṇā-mudrā, which is prevalent upto this day in Japan. It is illustrated in the Shingon textbook of mudrās entitled *Shingon mikkyō zu-in shū* 'collection of mudrās of Esoteric Buddhism' (Koyasan 1965, 7th ed., fasc. 2 p.35):



弁才天
費拏印
（費拏是琵琶也）
仰左手当斉如承琵琶状右手
風空捻餘散申之向身運動如
弾絃状

左手舒五指仰掌当斉如
承琵琶状右手又舒五指
風空相捻運動如弾絃状

Ever since Sarasvatī came to Japan in the 8th century, She became an integral part of popular Buddhism along with the goddess Lakṣmī. Their popularity was so widespread that they were even adopted into the indigenous Shinto pantheon. Sarasvatī has been worshipped "to grant eloquence in speech, wisdom, longevity and victory on the battle-field, as well as to provide protection from natural disasters.....According to the *Konkōmyō-kyō* (Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra) She is said to be the eight-armed sister of Emma-ō (Yamarāja)" (JEBD. 1965:157).

Sarasvatī became a household goddess as one of the Seven Deities of Good Luck sanctifying every home. Here She is always represented playing the vīṇā, and is the deity of music and art. According to *Fuzokutsu,* a book on the origin of customs, the biwa/vīṇā is 3.5 feet long, represents heaven, earth and man; its five parts standing for the five cardinal virtues of mankind, and its four strings for the four seasons of the year" (JN. 1952:2.183, 124).

Quite a few temples in Japan are dedicated to Sarasvatī, among which we may mention the Kōkiji. Two-armed Sarasvatī with vīṇā is consecrated here. Annual homa celebrations of Sarasvatī are a regular feature of the monastery. During this period a woodcut illustration with Her eulogy (*māhātmya*) is distributed to the participants. The eulogy points out that: "Sarasvatī in the main temple of the Kōkiji monastery is an esoteric (*guhya*) devī and full of merits. She is an apostasis of Śākyamuni Tathāgata. She is the compassionate Mother of all sentient beings. Her virtuous merits pervade the three thousand worlds. She bestows treasures. She is wondrous wisdom. She grants longevity and happiness. As She presides over music and eloquence, She is also called 'Beautiful-Sound Devī'. As She is a goddess of profit, virtues and knowledge She is also known as *guṇa-devi*. This Sarasvatī is playing a vīṇā. She grants desires to those who pray for dexterity, treasures or profit, eloquence, good voice, music or wisdom. She has fifteen maidens who serve her from the first to the fifteenth day. Everyday they serve the deity of Uga and give profit and knowledge to people. It is said in a sūtra: 'if a man is poor, let him perform my homa for seven days and I will grant him infinite treasures'."

From the above we find that Sarasvatī has been represented in Japanese iconography in ten different forms:

EIGHT-ARMED SARASVATĪ

1. Holds bow, arrow, sword, trident, axe, vajra, cakra and rope. This is the usual form of the Eight-armed Sarasvatī.

2. Holds a bamboo stick in place of the trident.
3. Holds two crossed swords instead of sword and axe.

SIX-ARMED SARASVATĪ

4. Two hands in namaskāra, sword, trident (?), vajra-bell, rope (?).

TWO-ARMED SARASVATĪ

5. Holds a vīṇā. This is the commonest form of the Goddess.
6. Holds a vīṇā and a sword (?).
7. Holds a lyre.
8. Holds a lotus and the cintāmaṇi jewel.
9. Holds a lotus in one hand and the other in a mudrā.
10. Holds two tridents.

Besides, she is represented by the bīja *su* for *Surasvatī*, as well as by an elaborate bīja-maṇḍala, and by her mudrā.

3. THE ICONOGRAPHY OF UMĀ AND MAHEŚVARA IN JAPANESE ART

The earliest known representation of Umā and Maheśvara in Japanese art is dated to A.D. 806 in the Mahākaruṇā-garbha maṇḍala. This maṇḍala was brought to Japan by the celebrated ācārya Kōbō Daishi (774-835) from China. In 804 Kōbō Daishi sailed to China in quest of the 'ornamental heart of mystery' of Esoteric Buddhism (Shingon) or Mantrayāna. It was the new denomination which had gained vogue in the Imperial metropolis of T'ang China which was the golden epoch of ever-new glory on the secular and spiritual planes. Indian teachers at the Imperial Court and in monasteries lent resplendence to the times. Their sonorous recitation of mantras in Sanskrit accompanying gorgeous tantric rites emanating from the philosophical subtleties of Mantrayāna was the new dimension that had attracted the young Kōbō Daishi (then known as Kūkai) to Ch'ang-an the cultural centre of Asia. It was here that Kōbō Daishi met his master Hui-kuo (746-805), the patriarch of Esoteric Buddhism in China. Hui-kuo was a disciple of Amoghavajra (Chin. Pu-k'ung, 705-774) who had inherited the dharma from Vajrabodhi (d.741). Amoghavajra served three Chinese emperors Hsüan-tsung, Su-tsung (reigned 756-762) and Tai-Tsung (reigned 763-779) and he was a great translator of Sanskrit texts. Master Hui-kuo was highly esteemed as the successor to Amoghavajra.

When Kōbō Daishi called on his guru-to-be, Hui-kuo was full of joy and assurance that the great Mantrayāna had a glorious future. This dramatic encounter is narrated by Kōbō Daishi himself: "I called on the abbot in the company of five or six monks from the Hsi-ming Temple. As soon as he saw me he smiled with pleasure and joyfully said, 'I knew that you would come; I have waited for such a long time. What pleasure it gives me to look upon you today at last. My life is drawing to an end, and until you came there was no one to whom I could transmit the teachings. Go without delay to the altar of abhiṣeka with incense and a flower'. I returned to the temple where I had been staying and got the things which were necessary for the ceremony. It was early in the sixth month then that I entered the altar of abhiṣeka for primary initiation."[1]

Kōbō Daishi mastered all that Hui-kuo had to offer, as one would "pour water from one jar into another".[2] The final instructions of Hui-kuo to Kōbō Daishi were: "Now

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[1]Hakeda 1972:31-32 (*Kōbō daishi zenshū* 1.99).

[2]*Kōbō daishi zenshū* 1.61. This expression corresponds to the Sanskrit term *pātratā*.

my existence on earth approaches its term, and I cannot long remain. I urge you, therefore, to take the maṇḍalas of both realms and the hundred volumes of the teachings of the Diamond Vehicle, together with the ritual implements and these objects which were left to me by my master. Return to your country and propagate the teachings there. When you first arrived, I feared I did not have enough time left to teach you everything, but now I have completed teaching you, and the work of copying the sūtras and making the images has also been finished. Hasten back to your country, offer these things to the court, and spread the teachings throughout your country, to increase the happiness of the people."[3]

Kōbō Daishi studied Sanskrit under the Indian teachers Prajñātāra and Muniśrī. He learnt the calligraphy of bījas and mantras which were to become an integral part of Shingon doctrines.

Versed in the new learning, endowed with treasures of books, holy images, ritual implements, Kōbō Daishi reached his country in the tenth month of 806. This was the beginning of a new age in Japan. Kōbō Daishi towers over the culture of his land. Alphabet, architecture, bridge-building, painting, democratisation of education, poetics and profound philosophical thought: all bear the impress of his deep insights and intimate commitment to the human condition. The life of Kōbō Daishi is pervaded with Sanskrit, from the Sanskrit script to its multi-dimensional expressions. He wrote commentaries on Sanskrit bījas or symbolic syllables, for example, *Unji-gi* 'signification of hūṁ' (Kōbō daishi zenshū 1.535-553). The Sanskrit alphabet symbolised the profound to Kōbō Daishi. He elaborates the dharma-maṇḍala in the *Hizō hōyaku* 'The Precious Key to the Secret Treasury'.[4]

> [I take refuge] in the Silent One (MahāVairocana) who is
> KA [*kārya*], CA [*cyuti*], ṬA [*ṭanka*]
> TA [*tathathā*], PA [*paramārtha-satya*], and YA [*yāna*].

Here the alphabet is the dharma-maṇḍala, evolving (KA), involving (CA), majestic (ṬA), Suchness (TA), the Ultimate Truth (PA), and the absolute Vehicle (YA) on which all are being carried.

As a part of the psychocosmic lore of the maṇḍalas Kōbō Daishi introduced Umā and Maheśvara in Japanese sacred art. Ever since they are evidenced in various Japanese manuscript scrolls in a variety of forms. A key to their morphological types follows on the next page.

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[3]Hakeda 1972:32 (*Kōbō daishi zenshū* 1.100).
[4]*Kōbō daishi zenshū* 1.417.

TWO-ARMED
1. r.h. mudrā, 1.h. triśūla, both seated on bulls.
2. both standing, Paśupati holds a staff in his r.h., Umā...
3. both hands in dhyāna mudrā.
4. naya-maṇḍala of M., with both hands in añjali
5. r.h. daṇḍa, lotus in 1.h. lifted up at breast height.

FOUR-ARMED
6. r.h. viśva-vajra, 1.h. lotus, cintāmaṇi

SIX-ARMED
7. standing, clad in armour.

EIGHT-ARMED
8. one-faced
9. three-faced

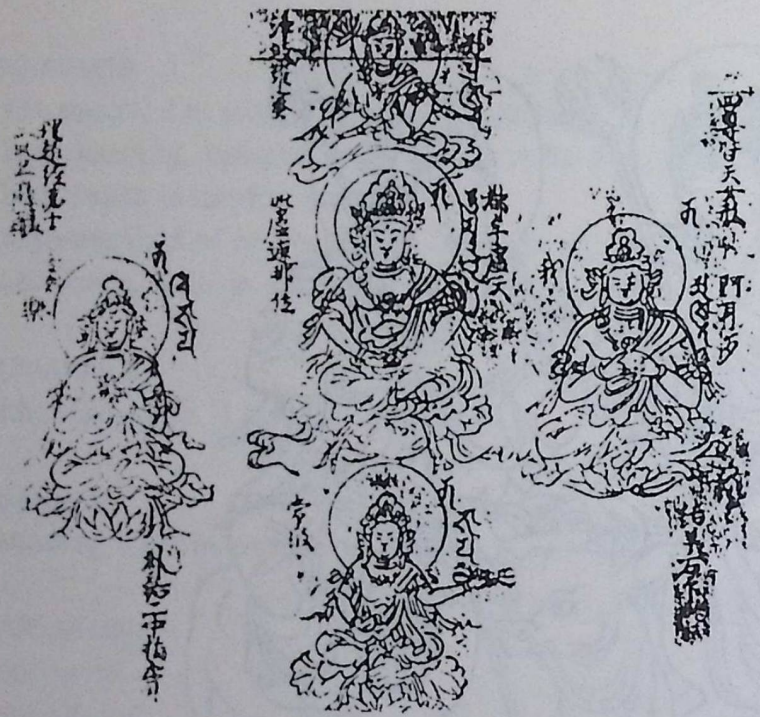
BĪJA
10. Tri (Maheśvara), Hūṁ (Umā). Tri=Trilocana.
11-16. Mudrās

Names. Umā is *Umahi* in Japanese and Maheśvara is *Daijizai-ten*.

Earliest dhāraṇīs. There are sixth-century transcriptions and translations of two dhāraṇīs to Maheśvara in the T'o-lo-ni-tsa-tsi 'collection of dhāraṇīs' compiled during the Liang dynasty (502-577) (Nj. 1475, T 1336, Maurice Courant, *Cat. des livres chinois* ..., Bibl. Nat., Paris 1910, 6357xv, xx).

1. In the Mahākaruṇā-garbha maṇḍala (Jap. Taizō-kai mandara) based on the Mahāvairocana-sūtra there are 405 deities. This maṇḍala was brought to Japan by Kōbō Daishi. Umā and Maheśvara are found in its outer quarter of vajras, both seated on bulls, holding a trident in their left hands. In 1035 Ken-I sketched them in line on the basis of a maṇḍala of 824 in Japanese facial features (Lokesh Chandra 1971 nos. 302, 303). This is the usual form of Umā and Maheśvara in the Shingon denomination which has 12,000 temples in Japan.

2. Shikū of Korea compiled the Bombun-shijōkō-bucchō-darani-shoson-zue, illustrating the deities in the Tejaprabha-buddhoṣṇīṣa-dhāraṇī. The earliest existing manuscript is dated 1499, which was copied from a Ming text donated on 15 January 1480. It has strange illustrations. The names of Umā and Maheśvara are transliterated in Chinese characters as *Mahāpaśupati Rudra* and *Umāpati devī* (TZ 97.19, 163).



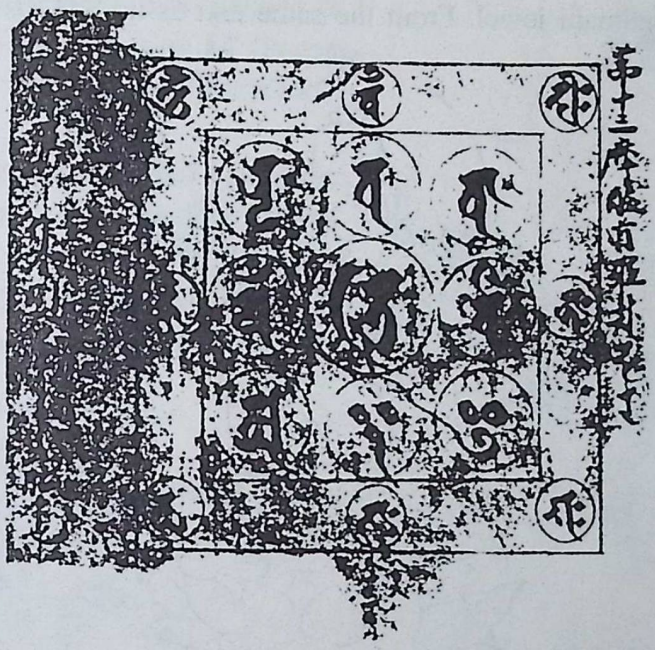
#3

3. Maṇḍala of Maheśvara, seated, with both hands in dhyāna mudrā, surrounded by Jaya, Vijaya, Aparājita, Ajita. Kakuzen-shō 102.374, a collection drawn by Kakuzen about 1183-1213, now preserved in 56 scrolls at the Kajūji monastery, Kyoto.

#4

4. The 17-deity naya-maṇḍala of Maheśvara who is seated, with both hands folded in añjali. Rishukyō-jūhatte-mandara 122.13 'maṇḍalas of the 18 sections of the Naya-sūtra' kept at the Daigoji monastery, Kyoto.

The same cosmogram as a bīja-maṇḍala, in the Rishukyō-mandara 124.13, one scroll kept at Kanchi-in temple of the Toji monastery, Kyoto.



5. Maheśvara-rāja bodhisattva, seated, bīja *MA* on top of head, r.h. holds a daṇḍa, and the left lifted up to breast height sports a lotus. Tō-hon-nijugō-bosatsu-zō 'figures of 25 bodhisattvas transmitted in copies from T'ang China'.

FOUR-ARMED

6. Four-armed Īśvara-rāja, with the bīja *A* over the head, seated, r.h. viśva-vajra, lotus, 1.h. lotus, cintāmaṇi jewel. From the same text as no.5, 136.21.

SIX-ARMED

7. Six-armed Maheśvara, standing, clad in armour. Two hands entwined, r.h. bell, cintāmaṇi jewel, 1.h. scimitar,—. Besson-zakki 87.282 'description of deities', by Shinkaku (1117-1180) in 57 scrolls at Ninnaji monastery, Kyoto.

EIGHT-ARMED

8. Eight-armed One-faced Maheśvara (Aṣṭabhuja M.), seated on a bull, painted in colour in the Zuzō-shō 'selection of figures' 86.103 kept in ten scrolls at the Entsūji monastery, Koyasan.

9. Eight-armed Three-faced Maheśvara (Aṣṭabhuja Trimukha M.), seated on a bull, drawn in ink in the Hōrōkaku-mandara 'Maṇivimāna-maṇḍala' 130.17 scroll at the Kanchi-in of Toji monastery, Kyoto.

#9

#8

10. In Japan, every deity has a symbolic syllable or bīja (Jap. shūji) which is the akṣara-devatā. The bīja of Maheśvara is *TRI* (pronounced *chiri* in Japanese), abbreviation of Trilocana, and *HŪM* (pronounced *umu* in Japanese) for Umā. They are written in Siddham-nāgarī script upto this day. They are reproduced below from the *Bon-shū shittan shūji ruijū*, a modern textbook for calligraphing bījākṣaras, published by Matsumoto Etarō, Koyasan, 1968.

#10

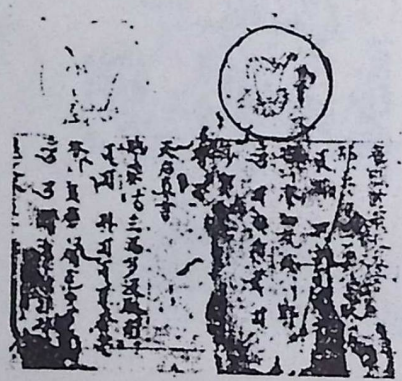
MUDRĀ

11. According to the Dainichikyō, the Sino-Japanese text of the Mahāvairocana-sūtra (Mochizuki 177a) the mudrās endow the thoughts, consecrations, dhāraṇī-mantra, all that is beyond form with a visible shape, thereby crystallising the plane of meditation. Thus Umā and Maheśvara are also represented by mudrās. The textbook of mudrās entitled *Shingon-mikkyō-zu-in-shū*[5] illustrates them.

12. The text Bus-setsu.....nenju-giki 240.308, 309 which prescribes the recitations accompanying the Mahākaruṇā-garbha maṇḍala, gives mudrās and mantras for Umā and Maheśvara.

13. The aforesaid text 240.318 also prescribes a single mudrā for both Umā and Maheśvara.

#11



#12

#13

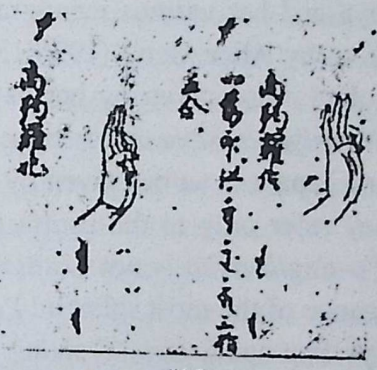
[5]published from Koyasan in 1965, part 3, p.10.

14. A different mudrā of Īśvara is seen in the Taizō in-zū 'mudrās of the Mahākaruṇāgarbha maṇḍala', 241.57 a scroll at the Ninnaji monastery, Kyoto.

15. Single-hand mudrā of Śaṅkara and Śaṅkarī, in the aforesaid scroll 241.57.

16. Mudrā of Maheśvara, in the In-zū 'collection of mudrās' 44.38, a scroll at the Kōzanji monastery, Kyoto.

#14



#15

#16

The above survey of the morphological types of Umā and Maheśavara is a tiny glimpse into the richness of Hindu-Buddhist iconography preserved in the monastic repositories of Japan from the ninth century upto to our days which are still vibrant with centuries-old traditions in living ritual in remote mountain fastnesses—tangents and flashes of the beauty of thaumaturgical levels in the warm reality of life.[6]

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[6]The materials of this paper are from the author's comprehensive *Dictionary of Buddhist Iconography* which will comprise the iconography from India, Nepal, Tibet, Mongolia, Siberia, China, Korea, Japan, Thailand, Cambodia, Indonesia and other countries, in 20 volumes.

4. ICONOGRAPHY OF THE GODDESS UṢṆĪṢAVIJAYĀ

So far no systematic attempt has been made to survey the earliest texts on Uṣṇīṣavijayā and her various iconographic types. The general description from all over Asia as given by Alice Getty (1928:135) suffers from serious inadequacies, to illustrate: the Mongolian name given by her as *rasiyan usnir-tu* is not attested by any source: it seems that *rasiyan/rasāyana* has been extracted out of context from some passage. The Chinese and Japanese names given by Getty are *Fo-ting* and *Butchō,* which simply mean *uṣṇīṣa*: they refer only to the uṣṇīṣa deities in general which are five, eight or nine in number. *Fo-ting/Butchō* is not Uṣṇīṣavijayā. Her translation of Uṣṇīṣavijayā as 'having the intelligence of the most splendid Perfect One' is again wrong. Uṣṇīṣavijayā is 'crowning victory'. She again errs in saying that the three faces of Uṣṇīṣavijayā "are all, as a rule, sweet in expression". The right face is serene and the left is fierce in sādhanas devoted to her (SM. 191, 211, 212). Getty says that there "may be a small image of Vairocana" in her chignon (uṣṇīṣa): it is not 'may be' but a must. Getty has confused the viśvavajra in the original right hand and the vase in the left hand on the lap as: "there are the 'four ornaments' falling from under the cover of the vase, and from cover itself rises an aśoka branch". The so-called 'four ornaments' are the four points of the viśvavajra and there is no branch from the vase, but the confusion can arise on a casual look even at the two figures illustrated on plate XLI b, c. Getty concludes: "In Japan she is looked upon as the deification of the Buddha's uṣṇīṣa. Her form resembles the Tibetan representation of the goddess, but she is little known". No image or drawing of Uṣṇīṣavijayā is known from Japan and hence we have no basis to compare her form in Japan with that in Tibet. The Chinese tradition is also bereft of the images and drawings of Uṣṇīṣavijayā. The only images that we come across in China belong to the Lamaist denomination and are of non-Chinese milieu.

This article is an effort to present Uṣṇīṣavijayā in the Sino-Japanese tradition and a classification of her iconographic types on the evidence from Indian, Nepalese, Tibetan and Mongolian sources.

NAMES

In Uigur she is known by her Sanskrit name transliterated as *Ušnisa vičai* (Müller 1911:27).

In China and Japan her names are: *Fo-ting-tsui-shêng* in Chinese and *Bucchō-sonshō* in Japanese (Nj.348=T.967, Nj.349=T.968, Nj.350=T.971). In his second translation of the dhāraṇī (Nj.351=T.970) done during A.D. 676-687 Divākara changed the order of the compound to *Tsui-shêng-fo-ting* (Jap. *Sonshō-bucchō,* Sanskrit*Vijaya-uṣṇīṣa), though in his earlier translation he had Fo-ting-tsui-shêng. During the years A.D. 973-981 Dharmadeva? (Fa-t'ien) retranslated the dhāraṇī and used the term *Tsui-shêng-fo-ting* (=Vijaya-uṣṇīṣa, Nj.796=T.974a). In his other translation (Nj.871=T.978) Dharmadeva? used another designation for the goddess: *Wu-sê-ni-sha-tsui-shêng,* in Japanese *Ushinishasaishō,* where *uṣṇīṣa* was transcribed and *vijayā* was translated. This indicates that the meditation of Uṣṇīṣavijayā was widespread in China and Japan as a recitation of the dhāraṇī, but it had not crystallised into a popular Chinese name. Her images are not found in East Asia except in Lamaist contexts as at Fei-lang-feng in the 13th century.

In Tibetan, she is known as *Gtsug-tor-rnam-par-rgyal-ba* in the translation of Ye-śes-sde[7] and others who lived in the ninth century (Chattopadhyaya 1967:176) and of Ba-ri lo-tsā-va who was born in A.D. 1040 (Roerich 1949:405). In all the four Tibetan versions (Toh.594-597) of the Uṣṇīṣavijayā-dhāraṇī, the name of the deity ends in the masculine affix *ba.* In the Tibetan version of Neḥu-mkhan-po and Ñi-ma-rgyal-mtshan (Toh.598) her name ends in the feminine suffix *ma.* Mkhas-grub-rje (1385-1438) uses the term *Gtsug-tor-rnam-rgyal* (Lessing/Wayman 1968:114) or its short form *Rnam-rgyal* (Vijayā), without any gender indicator. Her Mongolian name is *Usˇniq-a bijiy-a eke* in the Chu Fo P'u-sa Shêng Hsiang Tsan (360 Icons) 247, where *eke* means 'mother'. The *q* in *Usˇniq-a* indicates that *ṣ* was pronounced as *kh.*

TEXTS

The earliest existing Sanskrit manuscript of the Uṣṇīṣavijayā-dhāraṇī is the one preserved at the Horyuji monastery in Japan since A.D. 609.

This dhāraṇī was translated/transliterated into Chinese fifteen times from the seventh to the fourteenth centuries. They are listed below in chronological order:

A.D. 676. Buddhapālita of Kashmir came to China and translated it under the title: Fo-ting-tsun-shêng t'o-lo-ni ching (T.967=Nj.348).

A.D. 679. Translated and transcribed by Chinese functionary of the Court Tu hsing-i under the same title (T.968=Nj.349).

A.D. 682. Translated by Divākara (613-687) of Central India under the title of Fo-ting-tsui-shêng t'o-lo-ni ching (T.969=Nj.352).

Divākara translated it a second time in a fuller version under the new

title:Tsui-shêng-fo-ting t'o-lo-ni ching ch'u yeh-chang ching (T.970= Nj.351).

A.D. 710. Translated by I-tsing (635-713) under the title: Fo-shuo fo-ting-tsun-shêng t'o-lo-ni ching (T.971=Nj.350).

A.D. 716-735. Translated and transcribed by Śubhākara-siṁha as: Tsun-shêng-fo-ting hsiu yu-k'ie fa kuei-i (T.973, not in Nj.) which contains directions for the rites of Uṣṇīṣavijayā according to the yogatantric system.

A.D. 741-774. Translated and transcribed by Amoghavajra as: Fo-ting-tsun-shêng t'o-lo-ni nien-sung i-kuei (T.972=Nj.1421) in 11 leaves with the Sanskrit text and its transliteration in parallel columns for recitation (*nien-sung/ nenjū* 'japa', *i-kuei/giki* 'kalpa').

A.D.741-774. Sanskrit text and transliteration by Amoghavajra, given by F. Max Müller (1884:pl.no.1). It differs from the above (T.972).

A.D. 973-981. Translated by Dharmadeva? (Fa-t'ien) in 3 leaves during the Sung dynasty under the title: Tsui-shêng-fo-ting t'o-lo-ni ching (T.974[a]= Nj.796). He translated and transcribed it again in 9 leaves under a new name: Fo-shuo i-ch'ieh ju-lai wu-sê-ni-sha-tsui-shêng tsung ch'ih ching (T.978=Nj.871).

A.D. 980-1000. Translated by Dānapala? under the title of Fo-shuo tsun-shêng ta-ming-wang ching (T.1413=Nj.834). Another translation by Dānapala? entitled Fo-shuo shêng-tsui shêng t'o-lo-ni ching (T.1409=Nj.878).

A.D. 963-1058 (arrived at Pien-leang in 1004 where he died in 1058). Text and transliteration by Dharmarakṣa (Fa-hu) of Western India. Text given by F. Max Müller (1884) from the inscription erected by the Chin noble Fêng Chang-ming in A.D. 1147.

A.D. 1326. Translated by Dhyānabhadra of Central India, of the kṣatriya caste, who arrived via China to Korea in 1326 and died there in 1363? (Hōbōgirin, fascicule annexé, p.148b), under the title: Ushinish-abisaya-darani (in Japanese pronunciation, T.979, not in Nj.).

A.D. ? Translated by Hōshū as: Fo-ting-tsun-shêng t'o-lo-ni ching chiao tsi i chi (T.1803, not in Nj.).

From the above we see a continuous stream of Chinese renderings of the Uṣṇīṣavijayā-dhāraṇī, texts on its recitation and ritual, by eminent Indian and Chinese savants, including the great traveller I-tsing besides Śubhākara and Amoghavajra, the two founders of Vajrayāna. Śubhākara translated her more esoteric yogatantric rites, while

Uṣṇīṣavijayā belonged primarily to the earlier kriyātantra stage of the development of Mantrayāna. All this goes to prove the widespread vogue of her meditation in East Asia, that even as late as the fourteenth century, Dhyānabhadra during his sojourn in Korea felt the call for a new translation.

In Tibet there are five translations of the Uṣṇīṣavijayā-dhāraṇī:

Toh. 597 Ārya-sarva-durgati-pariśodhanī-uṣṇīṣavijayā nāma dhāraṇī, transl. by Jinamitra, Surendrabodhi, and Ye-śes-sde (9th cent.).

Toh. 594 Sarva-tathāgat-oṣṇīṣa-vijaya-nāma-dhāraṇī kalpa-sahitā, transl. by Chos-kyi-sde and Ba-ri (born A.D. 1040).

Toh. 595 same title, anonymous translator.

Toh. 596 same title as 594, translator not known.

Toh. 598 Sarva-tathāgat-oṣṇīṣavijayā-nāma-dhāraṇī-kalpa, transl. by Neḥu mkhan-po and Ñi-ma-rgyal-mtshan.

Mkhas-grub-rje (Lessing/Wayman 1968:115), the chief disciple of Tsoṅ-kha-pa the founder of the Yellow Sect of Tibet, distinguishes the interrelationship of the above five texts as follows: The first and third are identical in contents and the divergence in wording is due to different translators. At the request of Avalokiteśvara, Amitāyus pronounced this dhāraṇī in the Dharmasaṅgīti cave in Sukhāvatī. It has nine deities. The third text (Toh.595) says that Yama the Daṇḍadhara protects those who retain it. In the Chinese translation by Dharmadeva? there is a similar introduction: in Sukhāvatī Amitāyus addressed this dhāraṇī to Avalokiteśvara and caused many beings to be born in that country (Müller 1884:34).

The second text in Tibetan (Toh.597) was promulgated by the Bhagavat in the Trayastriṁśa heaven. "When the omens of death appeared to the Devaputra Susthira, he perceived that he would die within a week and would be reborn successively in seven lives as a dog, a pig, and other beings, and then would be reborn in the Avīci hell. He implored the powerful one of the gods, Indra, for protection, but was told, "I cannot help you", and was led into the presence of the Bhagavat, whom he implored. From the Uṣṇīṣa of the Bhagavat's head rays of light issued forth, and the sounds of a dhāraṇī issued forth. Thereupon the Devaputra muttered the dhāraṇī for six days, and all the karmic hindrances which cause re-birth in an evil destiny were removed". (Lessing/Wayman 1968:115)

In their Chinese translations Buddhapālita, Tu hsing-i, I-tsing and Divākara (both versions) give a similar account in the introduction to the dhāraṇī: ('At one time) Buddha lived in the garden of Anāthapiṇḍada. Then there was a Devaputra called Suṣṭhita, who was destined to die on the seventh day, and to go to receive the body of a tiryagyoni, or

a lower animal, in seven successive births, and then to fall into niraya or naraka. Fearing these future misfortunes, he consulted (lit. addressed) Śakra, the Indra or king of the Devas, who in turn asked Buddha for his help. (On that occasion) Buddha uttered this Dhāraṇī, and made the Devaputra to remember it. By this merit the latter increased his life, and obtained the prophecy of his attaining to the Bodhi' (Müller 1884:33).

The fourth text (Toh.596) teaches the dhāraṇī and its placement in stūpas.

The fifth (Toh.598) imparts the sādhana of the 33 Uṣṇīṣavijayā goddesses (Lessing/Wayman 1968:115). Sixteen of these 33 Uṣṇīṣavijaya goddesses on sixteen petals of the lotus are produced from the sixteen śūnyatā. The 16 śūnyatā are enumerated in the Yogaratnamālā (Lessing/Wayman 1968:28 n.17). In Tibet a 17-deity maṇḍala is dedicated to Uṣṇīṣavijayā with the 16 śūnyatā.

ICONOGRAPHY

Uṣṇīṣavijayā, as the main goddess, is without exception eight-handed and the attributes are fairly constant though their position in the hands may deviate slightly. She also occurs in a subsidiary role in the maṇḍalas of other deities where her characteristics are quite different and she has two arms. As such she may be deemed to be a separate goddess inspite of an identical appellation. Below is a key to the different forms of Uṣṇīṣavijayā discussed above:

TWO-ARMED

1. r.h. cakra, l.h. tarjanī mudrā.
2. r.h. viśvavajra, l.h. vase full of moonstones.
3. r.h. fruit, l.h. nectar-jar.

SIX-ARMED

4. three faces, r.h. arrow, garland, varada mudra;
   l.h. bow, lotus, third hand rests on the lap; caitya above crest-jewel.
5. one face, r.h. staff crowned by a viśvavajra, statue of Tathāgata, arrow; l.h. not specified.

EIGHT-ARMED

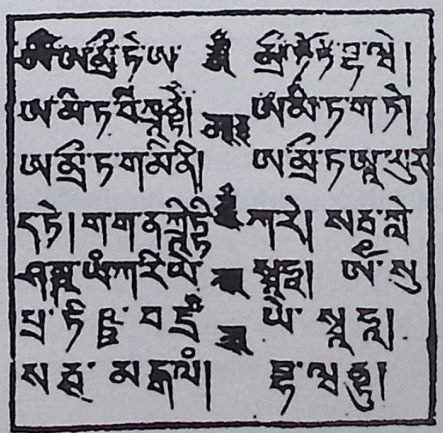
6. three faces, r.h. viśvavajra near heart, image of Buddha on a lotus, arrow, varada mudrā; l.h. abhaya mudrā, noose in tarjanī mudrā, bow, vase.

TWO-ARMED UṢṆĪṢAVIJAYĀ

1. Uṣṇīṣavijayā appears in the zenith of the second circle of the maṇḍala of VajraTārā (Niṣp.16.10). She has the cakra/wheel in her right hand, while the left is in the

tarjanī mudrā of threatening. Seated on a lotus in vajra-paryaṅka posture and of white complexion, she wears golden earrings, and textiles of exotic weave. Her kuleśa is Ratneśa (Niṣp. text p.39).

In sādhanas 94, 95 (SM.1.185, 191), she is yellow in complexion. In sādhana 95 (SM.1.191) she is called Uṣṇīṣavijayā-tārā and in the decasyllabic mantra *oṁ Tāre tuttāre ture svāhā* she corresponds to the last syllable *hā*. In sādhana 97 (SM.1.198) she is white in complexion, is seated on the sun, holds a white vajra *(śukla-vajra-dharāṁ)* in her right hand, and her left hand is in the tarjanī mudrā of menacing enemies. In sādhana 110 of Ratnākaraśānti (SM.1.129) as well, she is white and holds the vajra (v.1. cakra) in her right hand and menaces the wicked ones by her left hand in the tarjanī mudrā. The variant reading of cakra in place of vajra in this sādhana is highly significant in that it points to an early error whereby vajra inadvertently replaced *cakra*, which should be the appropriate symbol of Uṣṇīṣavijayā the feminine counterpart of Uṣṇīṣacakravartī.



2. Uṣṇīṣavijayā (Tib. Gtsug-tor-rnam-par-rgyal-ma) is the third of the Twelve Dhāraṇī Goddesses in the maṇḍala of Dharmadhātu-vāgīśvara Mañjughoṣa (Niṣp.21.60). As such she is the personification of her dhāraṇī. She is white, has one face and two hands. In the right hand she holds the viśvavajra (like the other eleven Dhāraṇī Goddesses) and in her left a vase full of moon-stones (*candrakānta-maṇi-kalaśa-hastā*). Her kuleśa is Amoghasiddhi (Niṣp.text p.65). She and her ritual are described at length in the Rin-lhan which is a sādhana-mālā by the Paṇchen Lama Bstan-paḥi-ñi-ma-phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal (Lokesh Chandra 1974: part 2, folio 58a4). The whole of this collection of sādhanas was illustrated in the Lamaist album entitled *Rin-ḥbyuṅ* (RaghuVira/ Lokesh Chandra 1963-64). She is illustrated on folio 90a as one of the deities handed down from Śākyarakṣita. Her name is: Gtsug-tor-rnam-rgyal phyag-gñis-ma=Dvibhujā Uṣṇīṣavijayā, that is, Two-armed Uṣṇīṣavijayā. The mantra for meditation on her is given under the illustration itself:

Oṁ amṛte amṛtodbhave amṛtavikrānte amitagate amṛtagāmini amṛta-āyur-dade gagana-kīrti-kare sarva-kleśa-kṣayaṅkari-ye svāhā. Oṁ supratiṣṭha-vajrāyai svāhā. sarva-maṅgalaṁ bhavantu. In the Japanese manual on the bījas and mantras of Shingon deities, entitled *Bonshū Shittan shūji ruijū* (Koyasan 1968) her mantra runs: *vaṁ/om amṛta-tejavati svāhā.*

3. In the 15th century wood-carving on the struts of the Newar monastery of Chuṣya Bāhā (Guṇākara-mahāvihāra) in Kathmandu (Nepal 1977:63, 64 fig.33), Uṣṇīṣavijayā is the fourth of the Seven Goddesses, holding a fruit in her right hand and a nectar-jar in the left as guaranteeing long life.

SIX-ARMED UṢṆĪṢAVIJAYĀ

4. Six-armed Uṣṇīṣavijaya in the Svayambhū-kṣetra, Nepal is described by Amṛtānanda in his Dharma-kośa-saṅgraha p.60 no.21: three faces (*trimukha*); six arms: right—arrow (*śarakṣepa*), garland, varada mudrā, left—bow, lotus, and the third rests on the lap (*urustha*); caitya above the crest-jewel (*cūḍāmaṇi*). Tārā sits in his lap, she has one face, and two hands in varada and abhaya mudrās.

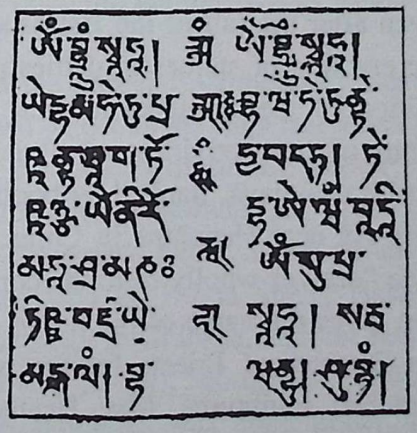
5. Six-armed Uṣṇīṣavijayā in the Dharma-kośa-saṅgraha 88 no. 7: *Uṣṇīṣavijayā, ekamukha. ṣadbhujā. dakṣe hṛdi. prathame viśvavajra-daṇḍa. dvitīye tathāgata. tṛtīye śara. kamale vajrāsana.* This means that Uṣṇīṣavijayā has one face and six arms: the right hand is placed near the heart with a staff crowned by a viśvavajra, the second right hand holds a statue of Tathāgata, and the third wields the arrow. She is seated on a lotus (Bhattacharyya 1974: 36). The attributes of the left hands have been overlooked by the author or missed by the scribe who copied the present exemplar.

In the *Sacred Art of Tibet* 1972:27 a novenarian maṇḍala of Uṣṇīṣavijayā from Kham is illustrated where she has six arms, but the attributes are not clear in the reproduction.

EIGHT-ARMED UṢṆĪṢAVIJAYĀ

6. The usual and widespread form of Uṣṇīṣavijayā is eight-armed. She is white, sits in vajrāsana, and has three faces: the centre one is white; the right yellow or golden, and serene, and the left black or blue, and fierce. Each has a third eye on the forehead. She has eight hands:

right hands hold	left hands hold
1. viśvavajra near the heart	abhaya mudrā
2. image of Buddha on a lotus or a lotus inscribed HRĪḤ	noose (pāśa) in tarjanī mudrā
3. arrow	bow
4. varada mudrā	vase (pūṃa-kumbha)



She is in the prime of her youth, clad in divine garments, decked with all ornaments, resides in the sanctum of the caitya (*caitya-guhā-garbha-sthitām*), and bears the image of Vairocana on her crown (*vairocana-mukuṭinīm,* sādhana 191 of the Sādhanamālā 2.394). The sādhana 211 (SM. 2.417) is more specific in defining the attributes of the second right hand as: Amitābha on a red lotus (*rakt-āravinda-stha-Amitābha-jina*). The same sādhana terms the vase as *bhadra-ghaṭa*. In this form, she was popular in Nepal,

Tibet, Hsi-hsia, Mongolia and Buryatia (USSR). She has been described by several European savants like Albert Grünwedel (1900:150, illus: fig. 107, 123, 125) on the basis of sādhana 191 of the Sadhanamālā. Amarendra Nath (1977: 41-44) has identified a Hsi-hsia print from Kharakhoto as pertaining to Uṣṇīṣavijayā. This print (KKII 0283. a.xxi) belongs to the first edition of the Hsi-hsia Tripiṭaka, the *Hsi-hsia kan*, printed before the annihilation of the Hsi-hsia dynasty in 1227. This identification is supported by the prevalence of the worship of Uṣṇīṣavijayā at Kharakhoto. In the Ermitage Museum at St. Petersburg there are two identical maṇḍalas of Uṣṇīṣavijayā from Kharakhoto, differing only in the portraits of the donors, one male and the other female. In them Uṣṇīṣavijayā is flanked by Padmapāṇi and Vajrapāṇi, with two goddesses flying over, surrounded in the exterior square by Four Krodhas in the four directions and four more on the corners outside the circle of flames. It is gouache on wood, 1.30 × 1.08 m. At the lower right angle, the donor is painted in Hsi-hsia dress, his hair is cut in local fashion, and he has a coiffure found in other portraits from Kharakhoto. It implies local production (Auboyer 1977:79 no. 26, illus. on p. 83). A fourth Hsi-hsia representation of Uṣṇīṣavijayā is again at the Ermitage Museum St. Petersburg, bearing the number Y-377, gouache on wood, 0.183 × 0.12 m, whose style is very close to Pāla art. Uṣṇīṣavijayā has been found many times at Kharakhoto, where her cult was widespread (Auboyer 1977: 81 no. 33 illus. on p. 85). All these Kharakhoto representations of Uṣṇīṣavijayā are prior to A.D. 1227. Even after the fall of the Hsi-hsia empire, the Hsi-hsia monks continued to be active in the erection of statues of deities popular among them and the publication of the second edition of the Tripiṭaka in their language. The region around Hangchow became the centre of their activities and all the tantric images in this area are due to their endeavours. An Uṣṇīṣavijayā, flanked by bodhisattvas, is carved on the limestone cliff at the Fei-lai-feng-ssŭ near Hanchow in China. It is dated to 1292 in the inscription. The sculptural style "derives wholly from the common Sung practice" (Watson 1971:7), but the inscription gives the name of the donor as Yanglianzhenjia (of unknown nationality) who was the Director of Priests for the region and was responsible for the group of esoteric Buddhist sculptures. Mrs. Heather Karmay (1975:24) points out that tantric images abound in Fei-lai-feng and it was an active Lamaist centre around 1300. It was here that Guanzhuba (Kanjurpa) completed the printing of the second edition of Hsi-hsia Tripiṭaka in 1302. It affirms the continued popularity of Uṣṇīṣavijayā among the Hsi-hsia people, who still must have entertained hopes of regaining the cultural glories of their past kingdom and worshipped Uṣṇīṣavijayā the symbol of crowning (*uṣṇīṣa*) victory (*vijaya*) who had blessed them in the days of their majestic grandeur.

On the first floor of the Gyantse Kumbum which dates to the early 15th century a chapel is dedicated to Rnam-par-rgyal-ma (Uṣṇīṣavijayā) named after her. She is accompanied by Avalokiteśvara, Vajrapāṇi and two devaputras. She is surrounded by her maṇḍala inspired by the Kriyāsamuccaya (Tucci 1941:IV.1.201,IV.3 pl.207).

Prof. G. Tucci (1949:2.579 thaṅka 147 plate 180) illustrates an exquisite thaṅka scroll of 108 Uṣṇīṣavijayā according to the traditional iconography given above. "In Tibet there is a liturgy, dedicated to her, which goes back to Maitripa. In our times, with the Yellow school, wide circulation is being given to a handbook of the Paṇchen Bstan-paḥi-ñi-ma, called Bcom-ldan-ḥdas rnam-par-rgyal-maḥi sgrub-dkyil:ḥchi-med bdud-rtsiḥi bum-byaṅ".

A. Neven (1975:37 pl.75) illustrates a 22 cm. gilded bronze of Uṣṇīṣavijayā (Tib. Gtsug-tor-rnam-par-rgyal-ma) of the 17-18th century. His observations on the attributes of the hands differ in three instances: holds Amitābha, the dhyānibuddha whose emanation she is, in *buddha-sharamana*(sic!)-mudrā; vitarka-mudrā holding the pāśa above; the kalaśa held in dhyāna-mudrā. Neven has not specified the source of his information.

The catalogue of the Tibet House Museum (1965:70-71) at New Delhi which was originally written in the Tibetan language by Tibetan scholars, has the following variations in interpretation "the second holds an image of Amitābha on a puṇḍarīka... The first left hand in dhyāna mudrā holds an urn, the second in karaṇa mudrā holds a vajramālā near the heart..."

The eight-armed form is illustrated in albums of the Lamaist pantheon by Lcaṅ-skya Incarnate Rol-paḥi-rdo-rje or Lalitavajra (1717-1786) who was the Imperial Preceptor to Ch'ien-lung (1736-1795) and was the dominating personality of culture during the 18th century. His album of 300 Icons.164 illustrates Gtsug-tor-rnam-par-rgyal-ma (Uṣṇīṣavijayā) with the mantra *Om bhrūṁ svāhā, amṛta-āyur-dade svāhā.* The Lcaṅ-skya Incarnate compiled another album of 360 Icons entitled Chu Fo P'u-sa Shêng Hsiang Tsan wherein Uṣṇīṣavijayā is illustrated along with her eulogy in Chinese, and her name in Tibetan (*Gtsug-tor-rnam-rgyal-ma*), Chinese (*Tsun-shêng fo-mu*), Mongolian (*Usniq-a bijiy-a eke*), and Manchu. A remarkable set of 766 statuettes was done under the direction of Rol-paḥi-rdo-rje for the Imperial Mother in 1771(?) and these were preserved in the Pao-hsiang Lou pavilion (Clark 1937:1.xiii). This too includes Uṣṇīṣavijayā with the pedestal 6M3 inscribed in Chinese *Tsun-shêng fo-mu* (Tsun-shêng=Vijayā). She is repeated in this pantheon in a subsidiary position 6 B 26, with the same Chinese inscription on the pedestal. The album Rin-ḥbyuṅ sketches all the deities described in the Rin-lhan (RaghuVira/Lokesh Chandra 1963-64) which is a comprehensive and classified

Tibetan Sādhanamālā by the Paṇchen Lama Bstan-paḥi-ñi-ma-phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal (1781-1852 var.1854). Rin-ḥbyuṅ 64c illustrates Uṣṇīṣavijayā as one of the *āyuḥsādhana* deities, that is, for prolonging life. It illustrates Uṣṇīṣavijayā twice more: in the section on the Vajrāvalī (R17b) and again in the section on the Snar-thaṅ brgya-rtsa (S2b) as *Gtsug-tor-rnam-rgyal lha-dgu*, i.e. Navadeva Uṣṇīṣavijayā, Uṣṇīṣavijayā with her retinue of eight. Furthermore, she is shown (RaghuVira/Lokesh Chandra 1961-68:3.148) in the Mongolian Kanjur xylographed in 1717-1720. She also appears in the Lhasa edition of the Bhadrakalpika-sūtra xylographed by the Zhö printery of the Potala (RaghuVira/Lokesh Chandra 1961-68:16.12) where the miniature Buddha held in her hand is replaced by the bīja HRĪḤ.

The full-fledged novenarian (9-deity) maṇḍala is found in the Ṅor series of the *Rgyud-sde kun-btus*/*Tantra-samuccaya. She is one of the three Long-Life Deities who are auspicious at the end (RaghuVira/Lokesh Chandra 1961-68:15.131). According to sādhana 211 (SM.2.418), this maṇḍala has Padmadhārī Lokeśvara to her right and Vajradhārī Vajrapāṇi to her left. Lokeśvara and Vajrapāṇi are flanked on the outer sides by two devaputras holding chowries (*cāmara-hasta*). The Four Krodhas are found in the four directions: Acala in the east, Ṭakkirāja in the south, Nīladaṇḍâ in the west, and Mahābala in the north. In sādhana 212 the two flanking deities are termed *Padma-Vajradharau* (SM.2.420).

A tenth century bronze of Uṣṇīṣavijayā from Kashmir, 17.1 cm high, is interesting for seating her atop a caitya pedestal rather than inside one. The donor couple sits on the caitya pedestal in minimal dimension and the male appears to wear the Sahi dress (Pal 1975:fig.70). The stone sculpture in the Indian Museum, Calcutta is elegant in its composition and execution. (*Sādhanamālā*, vol.2 clxvi, pl.XIV; *JISOA*. n.s.8 (1977), plate XVIII).

A Nepalese cotton scroll illustrating Uṣṇīṣavijayā is dated A.D. 1416 (28.5 × 22.5 inches). She sits within a stūpa flanked by bodhisattvas, with caityas interspersed all over the composition. The inscription records that the painting was consecrated by Jasarāja to celebrate the *lakṣa-caitya* ceremony, whence the entire maṇḍala is overflowing with caityas in a delightful design. Pratapaditya Pal (1975b:83 pl.47) wonders: "she is the personification of a dhāraṇī (spell), but the reason for her depiction within the womb of a stūpa, or chaitya, is not clear". When she is the personification of the dhāraṇī, her form is different—she has two hands only holding the viśvavajra and a vase full of moonstones (see type 2 above). This confusion has arisen by the statement of B. Bhattacharyya (1958:215): "it is not improbable that Uṣṇīṣavijayā is the deified form of the Dhāriṇī (sic)

of the same name included in the group of twelve Dhāriṇī goddesses". Bhattacharyya has mixed up, instead of distinguishing, the various contexts in which Uṣṇīṣavijayā appears in different forms. In sweeping generalisations, intrinsic interrelationship of particular forms to their contexts has been overlooked and they have been clumped together in baffling confusion. The concept of different types dependent on the classification of the multiple textual traditions of sūtras and tantras has yet to be realised and a well-defined morpho-typology of every deity has to be worked out. This paper is a step in this direction. The second point is: why is Uṣṇīṣvijayā in a caitya. Tarthang Tulku (1972:pl.27) provides the following explanation: "Uṣṇīṣavijayā is an emanation of the Uṣṇīṣa, the victorious aspect of the Mind of the Buddha. This aspect cannot be conquered since it is not concerned with whether positive or negative forces are brought to bear in a particular situation. Only the situation itself is considered without judgement of good or bad and as a result any movement is a response to the situation rather than a reaction for or against it. Because Vijayā is an aspect of the Mind of the Buddha, she is often seen in the center of the caitya which symbolizes the Mind (*citta*)". Only if scholars had looked into the Sādhanamālā, they would have found that in the sādhanas, Uṣṇīṣavijayā is invariably within a caitya: *caitya-guhā-garbha-sthitām* (SM.2.394), *caitya-guh-āntaḥsthām* (SM.2.417), *caity-āntaragatām* (SM.2.420). Historians of art will have to consult original texts to interpret the pan-Asian tradition of Buddhist art. The paintings were originally based on texts which are happily extant. They were worshipped accompanied by the chanting of these scriptures. They can be articulated again in all their richness of expression only by resorting to texts in Sanskrit, Tibetan, or Sino-Japanese, whose neglect will only lead to doubts, misconceptions and misinterpretations.

MAṆḌALA

In this paper we have referred to a number of maṇḍalas of Uṣṇīṣavijayā. All of them differ in their structure though the deities are fundamentally common.

1. Kharakhoto maṇḍala: 1 + 4 in the central circle, 4 in the rectangle, 4 in the corners.

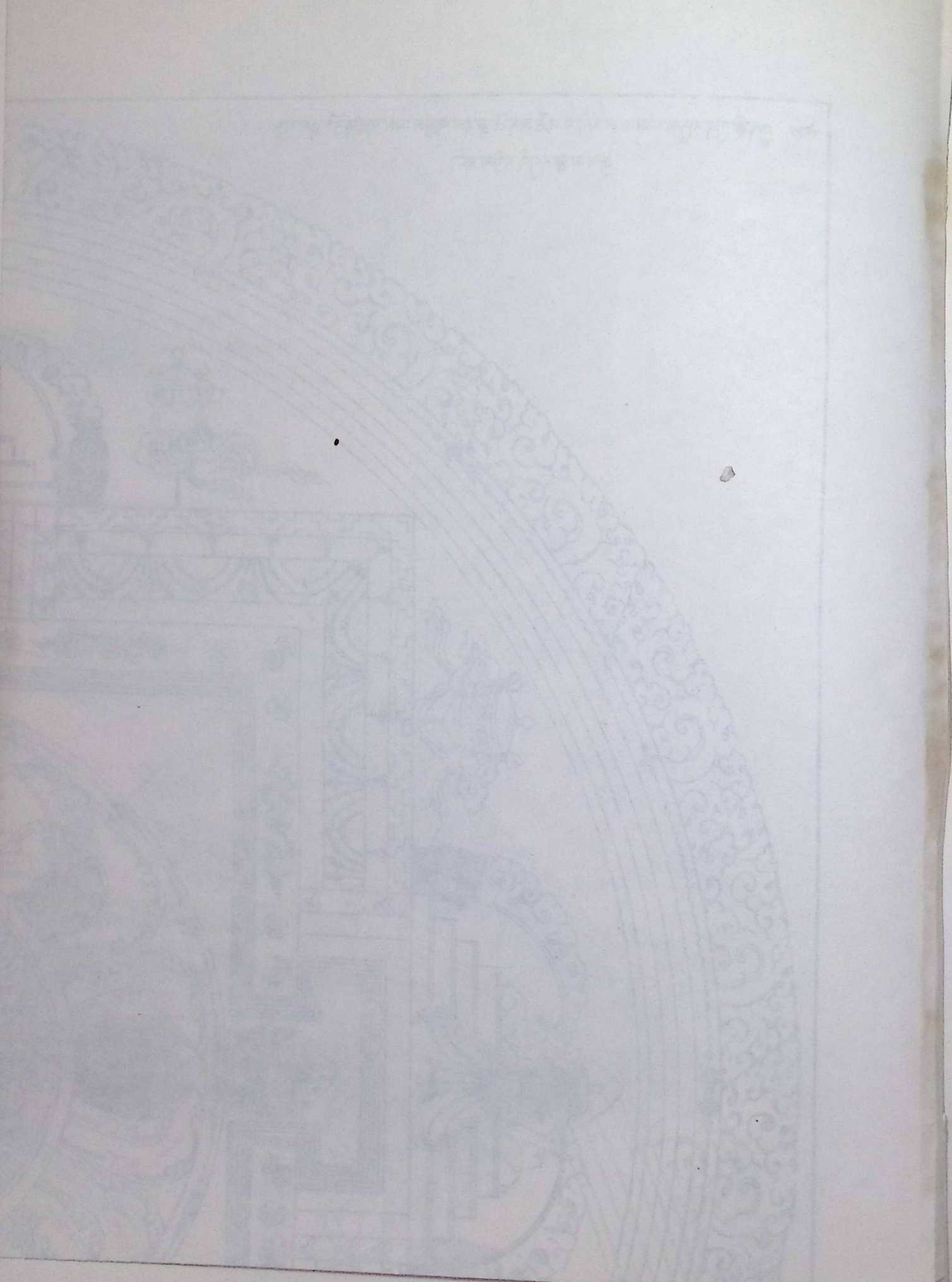
2. Kham maṇḍala: 1 + 8 in the central circle.

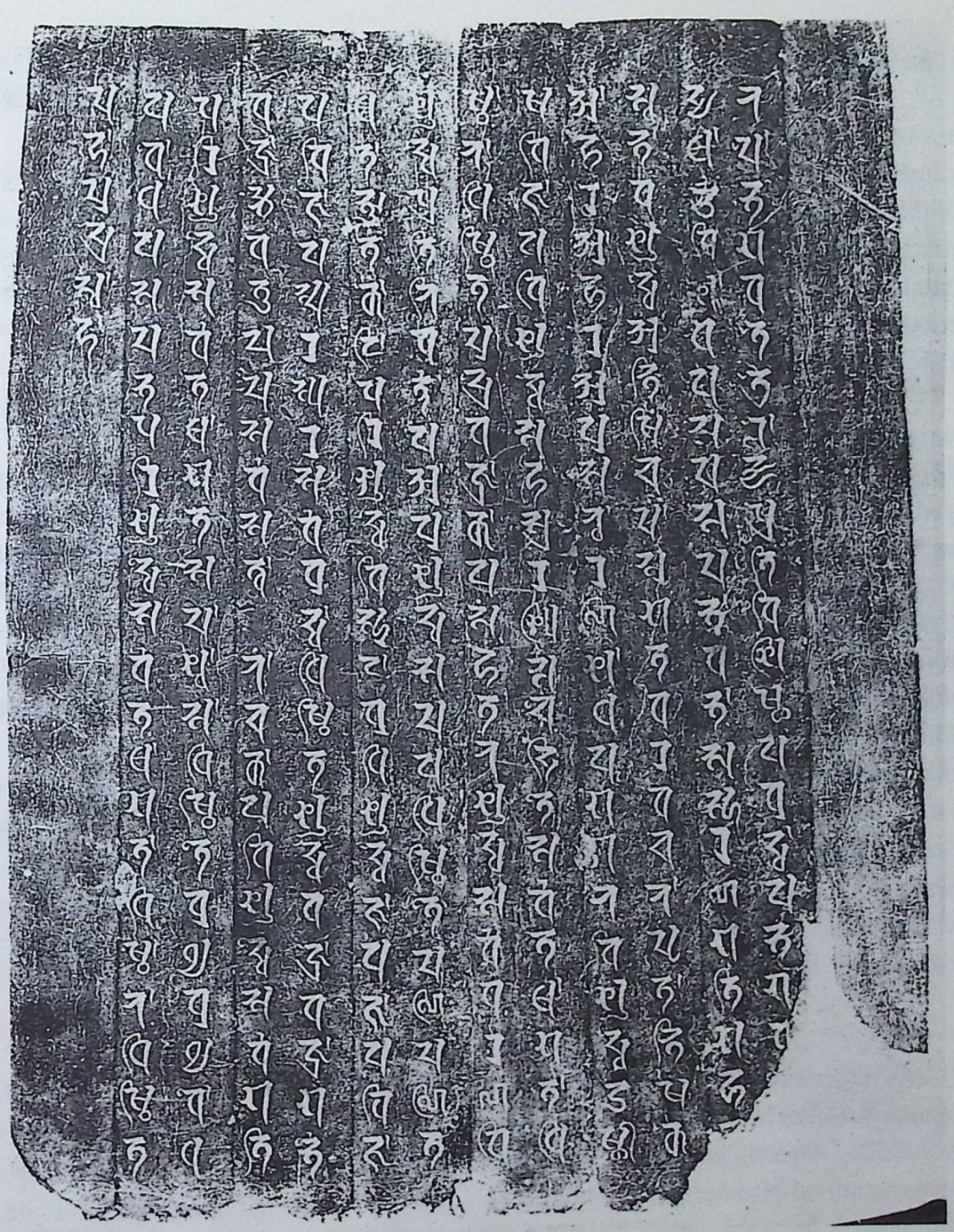
3. Narthang maṇḍala is a square representation of 1 + 8

4. Ṅor maṇḍala of the Tantrasamuccaya 1 + 4 in the central circle + 4 krodhas in the rectangle.

5. Nepalese maṇḍala of A.D. 1416 with Uṣṇīṣavijayā in stūpa 1 + 4 + 4 + 8.

6. Roṅ-tha's diagram of the maṇḍala: 1 + 4 + 8. In the late 19th century the renowned Kham scholar Roṅ-tha Blo-bzaṅ-dam-chos-rgya-mtsho compiled a *thig-yig* for the construction and drawing of maṇḍalas of the various collections, such as the Vajrāvalī and Mi-tra-brgya-rtsa. Herein he explained the maṇḍala of Uṣṇīṣavijayā among the kriyā-tantras (*bya-baḥi rgyud*). Don-ḥgrub-rdo-rje (1978:88) has drawn it according to his instructions.





Uṣṇīṣavijayā-dhāraṇī: Sanskrit text on an octagonal pillar erected in A.D. 1104 at Hsüan-wu village in the Loyang district. Discovered by Prof. RaghuVira in 1955. (Described in Lokesh Chandra and S.D. Singhal, *Prof. RaghuVira's Expedition to China*, New Delhi 1969, p.111).

5. VAIŚRAVAṆA/KUVERA IN THE SINO-JAPANESE TRADITION*

TRANSCRIPTIONS OF THE NAME

Bishamon=Skt. Vaiśravaṇa, Vaiśramaṇa, Pali Vessavaṇa; Tib. rnam-thos-bu, rnam-thos-sras 'son of one who is fully-heard' (that is to say, of the glorious, Skt. Viśravas, name of the father of Kuvera). Other transcriptions are: (1) Beishirabana T 1298, Bisharabana Gog. 19, T 2129.6, which corresponds to Skt. Vaiśravaṇa; (2) but most of the transcriptions correspond to Skt. Vaiśramaṇa: Beishiramana T 1246, Beisharamana T 901.11, Heishiramana T 665.6, T 1246, Beishiramana T 2129.6, Bishiramanō Eog. 1, etc.

EXPLANATIONS OF THE NAME

Name of one of the four Lokapālas (Jap. Tennō). He presides over the north over yakṣas and over riches, war, etc. Most of the translations of his name rest on the Sanskrit name Vaiśravaṇa (root *śru* 'to listen'). The most common form is *Tamon* 'well-heard' which is interpreted in different ways: many people speak of his richness (Gog.19, T 2129.6), he often listens to the preaching of the Dharma (Eog. 1, T 1721.12). The same interpretations are attached to the translation *Fumon* 'vastly-listened,' *Hemmon* 'heard on all sides' (Gog.19, T 2129.6). Gog.19 gives a translation *Rimon* 'separately heard' where the Skt. prefix *vi°* (from which is derived *Vai°*) is taken in a separative sense. Eog. 1 gives a queer gloss on the form Vaiśramaṇa: *Vai* is an exclamation preceding the word *śramaṇa* 'monk'; in origin this king was termed Kuvera (Kukotsura, correctly Kubira), but he arrived one day donning the robes of a monk to listen to the preaching of the Buddha; and when he entered the assembly of listeners (śrāvaka) they said to one another: 'Vai, śramaṇa! Vai, śramaṇa! He! here is the monk, here is the monk!' hence his new name.

REGENT OF THE NORTH

As regent of the north Vaiśravaṇa figures not only in the series of the Four Lokapālas but also in those of the Gods of the Eight Directions (Happōten), among the Twelve Gods (Jūniten), etc. He lives in the north of mount Sumeru on the northern flank of the mountain at mid-height, T 24.6, 25.6, T 2121.1 (on the summit of Yugandhara, at 42,000 leagues from the earth), T 1644.5 (between the two summits of Yugandhara), T 1558.11 (K. Lav. 3.160: on the fourth terrace, at the mid-height of Sumeru, at the level

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*Adapted from the *Hōbōgirin*, ed. Sylvain Lévi and J. Takakusu, Tokyo 1929, s.v. Bishamon, 1.79-83.

of the summit of Yugandhara, where there are the castles of the Sun and the Moon); or at 1000 leagues to the north of Sumeru (T 1.20), or at 4000 leagues (T 23.3).

It has three *cities*, a park and a pool whose names differ in the texts: first city, T 1.20 Kai 'redoubtable,' T 23.3 Shama, T 24.6 Bisharaba: second city, T 1.20 Tenkyō 'venerated by the gods', T 23.3 Hakaraotsu, T 24.6 and 25.6 Gabahattei; third city, T 1.20 Shūki 'all the refuges' (or: 'refuge of assemblies'), T 23.3 Aniban, T 24.6, 25 Adabanta (and compare the following transcriptions designating one of the cities of Vaiśravaṇa: T 310.3 Atabattei, T 1245 Anakabatei, 999 Anakabatei = Skt. Aṭakavatī, Alakavatī; T 982.2, T 2128.11 Anabanta, T 984.1 Atabanta, T 985.2 Katabanta, T 190.2 Araka, 190.12 Arakabanta, T 1644.5 Arakamanda).

The name of the *park* is: T 1.20 Kabientō, T 23.3 Kabienta, T 24.6, 25.6 Kabien. The name of the *pool* is: T 1.20 Narinni, T 23.3 Nari, T 24.6 Natsuini, T 25.6 Nacini (Skt. Nalinī, Naḍinī). Vaiśravaṇa, who is the most important of the Four Kings, alone has a park and a pool (and the other three Kings only one city each); but his residence communicates by flight of steps with those of the other three, who come to visit him and to promenade in his park. T 1644.5 describes in detail his city as well as his kingdom.

It is he who protects the continent situated to the north of Sumeru, Uttaravatī T 397.51, or moreover, to the south of Sumeru, the northern part of Jambudvīpa T 397.52: that is in effect, adds the latter text, in Jambudvīpa where appear the Buddhas, and that is why Vaiśravaṇa keeps vigil over the four kingdoms of Ogamagada, Bōgamagadha, Abanta and Shidai; he has received the mission of Buddha himself: with his 91 sons who traverse the ten directions, mounted on animals, men, women, and with the yakṣas, rākṣasas, kumbhāṇḍas, pretas, piśācas, nāgas, devas, and constellations who form his army. He defends Buddhism and reprimands the bad. To the pious he assures five advantages: increment of life, or riches, of health, of pleasure, of fame; but he abandons disciples perverse to royal justice.

In T 2043.6 and T 2042.6 it is from Indra that Vaiśravaṇa receives, after the passing away of Buddha, the mission to protect Buddhism in the region of the north, specially against the attacks of three cruel kings: Śaka, Yavana, Pahlava. And it is in the countries of the north that Hsüan-tsang encountered the cult of Vaiśravaṇa T 2087.1, 12: the great monastery of Balkh was protected by his image, which had miraculously warded the armed attack of a Turk Khan. The kings of Khotan claimed descent from Vaiśravaṇa, their first ancestor had been born in front of the statue (on this latter legend, cf. Kse.45). T 2126.2 asserts 'very close' connections that existed between Vaiśravaṇa and Khotan, and claims that his name, Bishamon was taken from one of the names of

the country of Khotan, Bishabu. Compare also T 982, 984, 985 (JA 1915, 1.53), which assign the country of Tukhāra as residence to Vaiśravaṇa.

HEAD OF YAKṢAS

He *presides over yakṣas*. Mahāmāyūrī (T 982, 984, 985) mentions him as a yakṣa, in two places, first under the name of Vaiśravaṇa, and then under that of Vaiśramaṇa (JA 1915, 1.53 and 58). T 279.67 he is the head of the multitude of yakṣas. T 1644.5 from Yugandhara upto northern Cakravāḍa, all the yakṣas depend on him. In T 1331.4 he pronounces this stanza: at another time cultivating awakening, I became the king of yakṣas for the benefit of beings, to those who dwell in the darkness of ignorance, I open their eyes with my hatchet of gold; and I save them from transmigrations, and elevate them to nirvāṇa. In T 1245, a late text which is specially consecrated to him, he pronounces a sūtra entitled Adanôtei (=Pali Āṭānāṭiyasutta of Dīgha-nikāya 32 which does not figure in the Chinese translations of the Āgamas; cf. also Hoernle, Manuscript Remains, 24 sq.), by the grace of which the disciples of Vaiśravaṇa can defend themselves against those yakṣas dependent on Vaiśravaṇa who are faithless and malevolent. In reality this sūtra treats of the Four Kings, and the fourth, who rules over the north, is designated here Yakṣa Kuvera; he has 91 sons named Taishaku (a name designating ordinarily Devendra Śakra= Indra), who are amenable to Vaiśravaṇa, and who by their example stimulate all the yakṣas to protect the north. In the same text T 1245, Vaiśravaṇa pronounces dhāraṇīs destined to subjugate malevolent gandharvas, piśācas, kumbhāṇḍas, pretas, nāgas, etc.

In T 999.1-2(Skt. Mahāsāhasrapramardinī), Vaiśravaṇa teaches a dhāraṇī to subjugate yakṣas who seduce men, bewilder them, dement them, devour them: it is me who am their king, he declares, and they adore the holy image placed inside the stūpa which I hold in the hand. In the same text Buddha teaches the 'dhāraṇī of king Brahmā' which enables one to subdue the eldest son of Kuvera, the grand yakṣa Saṁjaya who rides a man, and his other sons Janika, Daimi 'grand demon' and Ufuku 'Jar-belly'. According to T 1509.54 and T 2129.6, at times he presides over yakṣas and over rākṣasas. T 1297: when Vaiśravaṇa is joyous the yakṣas do not hurt men; when he is angry they cause disorders. T 1.20 (=T 2121.1) and T 24.6 (=25.6): he is always accompanied by five yakṣas who guard his person: (1) T 1 Hanjarō, T 24 Gojō = Pañcāla; (2) T 1 Dandara, T 24 Kōya 'Brushwood' (this translation corresponds to Skt. Āṭavaka, cf. Aṭabaku); (3) T 1 Keimabatsuda = Skt. Haimavata, T 24 Konsen 'Mountain of gold' (Skt. hema 'gold'); (4) T 1 Daigera, T 24 Jōshin 'long-body'; (5) T 1 Shuitsuroma, T 24 Shimmō = Skt.

Sūciloma. Moreover, according to another list given by Bdjt. 1487: (1) Zenniki, (2) Dokken, (3) Nata = Skt. Naḍa, (4) Skt. Kubatsura = Kubāra, (5) Kanro = Skt. Amṛta.

FAMILY

T 850.2 attributes to him eight brothers, a mother and a grandmother. According to Std. 1 his father is called Rabada or Bananda, and his mother Mitsujaru or Sofu. His eight brothers are none else but the eight yakṣa generals who surround him in the Garbhamaṇḍala. T 1796.5: Māṇibhadra, Pūrṇabhadra, Pāñcika, Śātagiri, Haimavata, Viśakha, Āṭavaka, Pañcāla. The text adds that in ancient times the third Pāñcika was named Sañjaya (for the restitution of these names in Sanskrit compare JA 1915:1). According to the afore-cited T 1245 his brothers are gandharvas. As for his sons the number and the names vary in texts. The eldest is most often designated Nata = Skt. Naḍa (cf. Naḍakūbara, name of the son of Kubera in Hindu mythology). It is he who had transmitted to the Chinese master Dōsen, a tooth of Buddha stolen from India by the rākṣasas (T 2061). It is recounted in the Zen sect that he broke the bones and tore the hair for reinstating them to his father and mother and then preached the Dharma unto them (Gte.2); but this legend is not attested in the canonical texts (Stj.6). According to Bdjt. 1297 Naḍa has three faces and eight arms; but a ritual which is consecrated to him (T 1297) says that he holds a tooth in his left hand, a three-pointed lance in his right, is of blue black colour, blended with red and tramples on a yakṣiṇī; and according to this ritual Naḍa is not the son of Vaiśravaṇa but his grandson, more precisely the third son of his second son (called Hanshika = Skt. Pāñcika Hmjr 813); he is a terrible demon who protects the state and Buddhism putting down the wicked, tearing away their eyes and their hearts, breaking their heads with his baton of diamond, etc.

GOD OF WEALTH

As we have seen in many of the passages cited before, Vaiśravaṇa is often identified with Kubera, the Hindu god of riches; under this title he presides over riches (cf. Kubira). In T 397.52 he is regularly designated under the double name Kubera-Vaiśravaṇa (Kubira-Bishamon); and while the Aśokāvadāna (T 2042.6) terms him Bishamon, the corresponding passage of Aśokasūtra (T 2043.6) names him Kubira. His wealth is proverbial: the fortune of a gṛhapati of Rājagṛha is compared to his T 703; T 279.77 compares the Zennu (kalyāṇamitra) to Vaiśravaṇa, the dharma to his treasures, the practices to his fortunes and once again in T 279.78 the spirit of awakening to Vaiśravaṇa which suppresses the suffering of poverty. In T 190.12 he is termed the 'proprietor of the

grand depository of treasures' daikozōshu. In T 201.2 (tr. Hüber 59), Indra and Vaiśravaṇa are cited as generous rich persons. In a story of T 202.4 he appears to lay woman Upasenā (or Mahāsenā) the moment she recites the Dharmapada on the top of her house. She hears a voice in the air. It is Vaiśravaṇa who goes to Virūpākṣa, accompanied by his thousand yakṣas. He says to Upasenā: If I give you celestial joys what will you do with them; I am going to give you a good boon.....

Ekottarāgama (125.26) narrates the history of Keizu 'head of the cock', a brahmin who was very poor to offer food to the Buddha and his followers who were invited to Kapilavastu, having been expelled by the local co-fraternity of brahmins. He borrowed money from a notable of the city, and promised that he could be sold as a slave for paying the debt. The brahmins accepted his money, but refused to lift the pronounced expulsion. On the order of the Buddha, Indra and Vaiśravaṇa went to his assistance. Vaiśravaṇa sought in the Sandal Forest a grand cuisine where his 500 yakṣas prepared the meals for the Buddha. He sent to the brahmin a bar of gold which when flung to the ground was transformed into a hundred thousand ounces of gold. With this gold the brahmin purchased the food cooked by the yakṣas, and could offer a magnificent feast to the Buddha, to his monks and to all the arhats who were miraculously present.

In the Suvarṇaprabhāsottamarājasūtra T 665.6 (this passage is lacking in the other recensions T 663 and 664; a very late special sūtra T 1244 is based on this text), Vaiśravaṇa teaches the Cintāmaṇi-dhāraṇī, which when pronounced according to certain rites, makes appear before the faithful the son of Vaiśravaṇa, Zennishi (T 1244 Shanisa). He asks the faithful: why have you invoked my father? The faithful replies: I want riches for offering to the Triratna. Vaiśravaṇa enjoins his son to assure to the faithful a daily endowment of hundred kārṣāpaṇa (T 1244 'pieces of gold'). The faithful can offer them to the Triratna and alms to the poor. Then the Devarāja adds: if the faithful wishes to see me in person while he finishes the image of Buddha (T 1244: Śākyamuni preaching the Dharma), with Kichijoten = Śrī to his left and myself to his right, and all kinds of assistants of both sexes.... While he performs certain rites before this image, pronounces a long dhāraṇī....., then I appear before him in the form of a young person or of an old mendicant monk (T 1244 of a lay person) holding a cintāmaṇi (Y 1244 in my right hand) and a bag of gold (T 1244 a box of gold in my left hand) and grant all his wishes, and make him rich....

GOD OF WAR

And finally, Vaiśravaṇa was venerated in China and Japan as a god of war. T 1248 gives a dhāraṇī entitled 'Dhāraṇī of Devarāja of the north, Vaiśramaṇa, who

watches over armies for protecting the Dharma'. If one pronounces this dhāraṇī before an image of Vaiśravaṇa—which represents the Devarāja under his terrible aspect, dressed in armour plate, holding a lance in his left and his right resting on his hip, a stūpa which he offers to Buddha Śākyamuni, and treading on two black yakṣiṇīs—he sends his third son Naḍa to the side of those who direct their troops for the protection of their country; or still, if one covers the armour plate of his image with the powder of gold and offers him perfumes, flowers and other offerings while pronouncing the dhāraṇī a hundred thousand times, he himself takes the command of his celestial troops and goes to support his devotee, to whom he assures victory; or furthermore, if one recites non-stop day and night he delegates his heir-prince Dokken at the head of celestial troops; or still one can suspend his image on a staff and carry it as a banner fifteen paces in front of the army which will render the enemy ineffectual.

A ritual of the same title (T 1247) very specifically consecrated to Naḍa, adds in the colophon that during the 'grand troubles of the Five Kingdoms', one tried in vain during eight months all sorts of other ceremonies; only the rite prescribed in this text proved efficacious for stabilising the country. It refers to the troubles which burst forth in Central Asia at the end of the reign of Hsüan-tsang during the T'ang dynasty and by the "Five Kingdoms" are intended the five foreign people who besieged the city of Anhsi. The incident is reported in details in the 'Ritual of Vaiśravaṇa' T 1249 (= T 2126.2 whose text is more correct): in the first year of T'ien-pao 742 AD, the five kingdoms of Seiban=Tibet, Daiseki=Arabs, Kōko= Sogdians, and others besieged the city of Anhsi. On the second day of the second moon, a report was presented to the Emperor demanding relief troops. The Emperor said to master I-hsing: Professor, the city of Anhsi is besieged by Arabs and others and it requires troops. But as it is situated at a distance of 12000 leagues, it will take eight months for my troops to arrive there, and I do not know what to do. —I-hsing replied: Why does Your Majesty not invoke to your aid the Devarāja of the north, Vaiśravaṇa, with his celestial troops? —How can I invoke him? —By the intervention of the Serindian monk Daikōchi (T 2126 and Std. 1 Amoghavajra). —The Emperor sent word to this monk who invited him to provide an incense-burner and follow him to the monastery. The monk pronounced a dhāraṇī (taken from T 246, adds T 2126) twenty-seven times. The Emperor then saw hundreds of soldiers in arms and the monk explained to him that they were the troops of Dokken the second son of Vaiśravaṇa, who had come to take charge before departure for Anhsi. In the fourth month he received a report from Anhsi, declaring that, on the very day of the ceremony they saw appearing in the north-east of the city, the envelopings of an obscure haze, of giants dressed in

armour plates of gold; they heard an uproar of drums and of horns, and experienced a violent trembling of the earth. The troops of the five kingdoms, frightened, retired to their camps, where rats of gold gnawed the strings of their bows and of their traps. A voice in the sky enjoined to spare the old and the feeble, who could not flee away. Then Vaiśravaṇa manifested himself in person on the northern gate of the city. They drew his image which was appended to the report addressed to the Emperor. In consequence of these events, continues T 2126.2, an imperial edict directed all its provincial functionaries to place in the north-west angles of cities, images of Vaiśravaṇa and of his assistants, and all the Buddhist monasteries to consecrate a special edifice to him. Since then, this text which dates to the tenth century adds, it has been a usage in the prefectures to make offerings to Vaiśravaṇa on the first of every lunar month, while executing chants and dances: this is what is termed *rakutennō* 'rejoicing of the Devarāja.'

T 1249 citing the words of the same monk Daikōchi/Amoghavajra, gives a monthly programme of deeds and exploits of Vaiśravaṇa: on the first day of every lunar month he makes a re-union with the gods and demons; on the second day he takes leave of his second son Dokken who departs on a tour of inspection; on the 15th day he makes a re-union with three other devarājas; on the 12th day he exchanges a stūpa with his son Naḍa: on this day one should offer glutinous rice with milk or with honey.

In mediaeval Japan, Vaiśravaṇa was the patron (Mamori honzon) of warriors who received now and then in their infancy the surname of Tamommaru, as was the case of a celebrated hero of the 14th century, Kusunoki Masashige.

In Mantrayāna, his bīja is VAI, his symbolic form the baton or the stūpa. Numerous are his dhāraṇīs: the most usual is simply his name preceded by *Namo*. His principal mudrā is as follows: the ring fingers are raised one against the other, the index fingers are bent like hooks, the other fingers are intersecting inside the palm (T 1244); but there are several other mudrās.

ICONOGRAPHY

Vaiśravaṇa is figured in Japan like an armoured warrior; his attributes are generally a baton (daṇḍa) and a stūpa. This type confirms to the following texts: T 1244 on the palm of his left hand he holds a stūpa which he beholds, and in his right hand a baton. T 1293 (colour blue black, dress red, hair violet). T 1298 adds that his body is golden, he is armoured, standing on two demons and flanked by two goddesses offering him flowers (fig. Kakuzenshō 6.2244). T 908 omits the goddesses (Asabashō 6.2026). It is this latter type which is reproduced in the maṇḍalas of Garbhadhātu (north portal of the

exterior vajrāvalī) and of the Vajradhātu (where Vaiśravaṇa presides over yakṣas in the west); his seat is always a lotus instead of the two demons and the armour differs in the two maṇḍalas (Bzss. fig.327-328).

Bishamon (Garbhadhātu)

Bishamon (Vajradhātu)

Often the baton is replaced by a long lance, generally with triple points and a pennant: T 1248 he holds in his left hand a lance, his right is placed on his hip; he treads on two black yakṣiṇīs and offers a stūpa to Buddha Śākyamuni. T 901.11 his left hand holds a lance, his right a stūpa (fig. Kakuzenshō 6.2242; it is under this aspect that he is generally figured in the popular series of the seven divinities of good luck, Shichifukujin; compare also the statue preserved at Hōryūji, where he treads a unique demon). T 1246 he holds in his left a lance with three points; his right is on his hip (fig. Asabashō 6.2026; this type is preserved at Kuramadera near Kyoto, a temple consecrated to Vaiśravaṇa; cf. Renondeau, BEFEO 26.259 sq.). This text and T 1251.1 mention a type holding a stūpa in the left and treading on three yakṣas of which the central is either Goddess of the Earth (Pṛthvī, Jiten), or Vināyaka/Binayaka, the other two are identified as Biramba and Niramba. Compare T 1203: he is mounted on a demon, holds a stūpa in the right and rests the left on the hip.

Other attributes: T 1067 stūpa in the left, sword in the right, armoured, young face, coiffure of jewels, angry aspect. T 1068 stūpa in the left, vajra [club] in the right, colour violet. T 951.1 lance in the left, vajra in the right. Kakuzenshō 6.2241 (fig. 2243) lotus in the left, triple-pointed lance in the right, golden body, armour, sabre; a red bird in the coiffure. T 926 his body is green and he holds a fork.

In the *Lamaist* tradition, Vaiśravaṇa holds a banner in his right hand and in his left a mongoose spitting jewels (Grünwedel, Myth. 181).

In *China*, modern usage attributes to him a banner and a stūpa, perhaps a compromise between the Chinese classical tradition attested by the texts cited above and preserved in Japan (cf. also BEFEO 25.440 sq.) and in the Lamaist tradition.

Aberrant types. In the Taimitsu sect (esoteric branch of Tendai) the rite called Hūmkhaḍaya (cf. T 2151) is celebrated in honour of a 'Double-bodied Vaiśravaṇa' (Sōshin Bishamon) who is a combination of Vaiśravaṇa and the goddess Kichijōten/Śrī. Asabashō 6: the two personages are represented back to back, with red faces and three eyes, black dress, armour: one holds a vajra, the other a cakra (fig. Asabashō 6.2046). This iconographic type known in Japan since 1264 (Asabashō 6.2047) seems to be connected with the text of T 665.6 where Vaiśravaṇa is associated with Śrī; moreover, Vaiśravaṇa and Śrī figure frequently side by side in the esoteric texts, for example, T 1249, T 850 etc. Later, the two personages were considered as the metamorphoses of Vairocana, on the one hand in the Garbhadhātu and on the other in the Vajradhātu, their combination symbolising the identity of the two dhātus (Hmjr. 892).

Sōshin-Bishamon

Tobatsu-Bishamon is a form of Vaiśravaṇa who appeared to the king of a country of Tobatsu or Topara (Asabashō 6.2028-2029); he is represented either under the normal aspect of Vaiśravaṇa, holding a stūpa in his left hand, standing on the Goddess of the Earth who sustains his feet and is flanked by two demons (statue of Tōji of Kyoto, Bdjt. pl.97; cf. above the text of T 1246); or astride a lion, and with four heads and ten hands of which eight hold sabres (tōhachi for tobatsu; fig. Bdji. 3517).

Tobatsu-Bishamon

Another form with ten hands is mentioned in Asabashō 6.2054-5, which goes back to the 11th century: the skin is red, the dress black; two of the ten hands are joined, the others hold, to the left: (1) stūpa (2) bell (3) cakra (4) arrow and the string, to the right: (1) sickle (2) sabre (3) bow (4) vajra.

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24 (Nj 550) Kisekyō, tr. Jñānagupta (523-600)
25 (Nj 549) Kisekyō, tr. Dharmagupta (in China 590-616)
125 (Nj 543) Ekottarāgama, tr. Dharmanandin in 384-385
190 (Nj 680) Abhiniṣkramaṇasūtra, tr. Jñānagupta in 587
201 (Nj 1182) Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā, tr. Kumārajīva in 405
246 (Nj 965) Kāruṇikarājasūtra, tr. Amoghavajra during 746-771
279 (Nj 88) Avataṁsakasūtra, tr. Śikṣānanda in 695-699
310 (Nj 23) Mahāratnakūṭa, tr. Bodhiruci in 713
397 (Nj 61) [Mahāvaipulya-mahā]sannipāta-sūtra, tr. Dharmarakṣa (w. 265-313)
663 (Nj 127) Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra, tr. Dharmarakṣa
664 (Nj 130) Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra
665 (Nj 126) Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra, tr. I-tsing (635-713)
703 (Nj 720) *Śreṣṭhiputra-Dīpāṅguli-avadāna, tr. Kumārajīva
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926 *Bhaiṣajyaguru-Vaiḍūryaprabharāja-sapta-buddha-kalpa, tr. Bhadrapāla and Sharapa (in China 1311-1314)
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982 (Nj 307) Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī, tr. Amoghavajra during 746-771
984 (Nj 308) Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī, tr. Saṅghavarman in 516
985 (Nj 306) Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī, tr. I-tsing in 705
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1068 *Sahasrabhuja-Avalokiteśvara-kalpa, tr. Śubhākarasimha during 716-735
1203 Fudōanchinki
1244 (Nj 849) Vaiśramaṇa-sūtra, tr. Fa-t'ien during 973-981
1245 (Nj 974) *Vaiśramaṇa-sūtra, tr. Amoghavajra during 746-771
1246 *Vaiśravaṇadhāraṇīkalpa. tr. Prajñācakra during 847-860
1247 *Vaiśravaṇakalpa, tr. Amoghavajra during 746-771
1248 *Vaiśravaṇamantra, tr. Amoghavajra during 746-771
1249 *Vaiśravaṇakalpa, tr. Amoghavajra during 746-771
1251 *Hum-kaḍaya-kalpa, tr. Vajrabodhi (in China 719-741 var. 731)
1293 Jūrokuzenjinnō-gyōtai, tr. Vajrabodhi (in China 719-714 var. 731)

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1298 *Dvādaśadevakalpa
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1590 (Nj 1240) Viṁśatikā Kārikā of Vasubandhu, tr. Hsüan-tsang in 661
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2126 So-shi-ryaku, by Sannei (w. 977-1001)
2128 Erin-ongi, by Huei-lin of Kashgar (737-820)
2129 Zoku-issaikyō-ongi, by monk Hi-lin (Jap.Kirin) who worked around 1090
2151 (Nj 1487) A record of the pictures of the events of ancient and modern translations of the sūtras etc., compiled by Ching-mai (Jap. Seimai) in 664-665.

ABBREVIATIONS

Asabashō, by Jōchō (1205-1282), Dai-nihom-bukkyō-zensho, Tokyo, 1913-1921.
Bdji. = Bukkyō-dai-ji-i, compiled by the Buddhist University of the Nishi-Honganji at Kyoto, Tokyo, 1914-1922.
Bdjt. = Bukkyō-dai-ji-ten, by Oda Tokunō, Tokyo (Ōkura shoten), 1917.
Bzss. = Butsu-zō-shin-shū, by Gonda Raifu and Ōmura Seigai, Tokyo (Heigosha), 1919.
Eog. = Eon-on-gi, by Huai-yuan of the T'ang dynasty, Tokyo ed. of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, 41.10.
Gog. = Gennō-on-gi, by Hsuan-ying (ca. 650), Tokyo ed. of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, 39.6-7.
Gte. = Gō-tō-egen, by P'u-tsi of the Sung dynasty (960-1279), Zokuzōkyō II.11.1-4.
Hmjr. = Hi-mitsu-ji-rin, ed. Tomita Kōjun, Tokyo (Kajisekaisha), 1911.
Kakuzenshō, by Kakuzen (12th cent.), Dainihom-bukkyō-zensho, Tokyo, 1913-1921.
Std. = Sho-ten-den, by Hing-t'ing of the Sung dynasty (960-1279), Zokuzōkyō II.23.2.
Stj. = So-tei-jion, by Chan-k'ing of the Sung dynasty (960-1279), Zokuzōkyō II.18.1.

6. MORPHOLOGICAL TYPES OF ROCANĀ/LOCANĀ

Pañca-buddhaṁ namasyāmi saṁsāra-pāśa-chedakaṁ/
jñanājñāna-kṛtaṁ pāpaṁ sarvaṁ nāśaya me vibho//

Indian art in its Buddhist idiom is a transic response to the immensity of humano-cosmic unity. It is translated into a plurality of visual symbols. This symbolic art, born of rituals and liturgy as a compliment to transcendental meditation, came to reflect the constant evolution of philosophical ideas in mystical esoterism of Mantrayāna, developing into Vajrayāna, and later into abstruse and complex doctrines which may be generically termed *Guhyayāna. This art became the frozen music of form in the vast expanses of Asia, from Siberia, Mongolia, Tibet, China, Korea, and Japan to Nepal, Srilanka, Thailand, Cambodia, Indonesia, etc.

This majestic plurality of iconic forms has defied identification. As recently as 1965, William Willetts laments: "In spite of all the spade-work that has been done on the subject of Chinese Buddhist iconography—by Chavannes, Siren, Tokiwa and Sekino, Nagahiro, and Mizuno, to mention but a few—there is no sure path through the maze of iconographic alternatives we face when we begin our attempt to run one of these personages to earth."

For the last twenty years, flying and trekking to remote and unknown hamlets and renowned museums all over Asia, Europe and the Soviet Union I have collected over fifty thousand photographs of bronzes, stone sculptures, wood carvings, paintings, and sketches in the most diverse *genius loci,* along with their metaphoric structure of symbols (mudrās, bījas, metagraphs). The imprecise state of iconographic identities is appalling not only in Indian and East Asian (Chinese, Korean and Japanese) art but also in the art of the entire cultural space of Siberia, Mongolia, Tibet, Nepal, Thailand, Indonesia and other areas which share a living rapport in a common rhythm of values incarnated.

The elaboration of minute details in all their richness of variety, spanning several centuries and covering an unprecedented geographic expanse, has yielded astonishing results. To cite an example, Willetts (1965:195) defines: "A Bodhisattva mounted on an elephant is Samantabhadra." While it is not fully wrong, it involves us in ambiguities as we find another East Asian statue on an elephant which, judging from the context, cannot be Samantabhadra. Here he is Indra on his elephant Airāvata, as one of the *Jūni-ten* 'Twelve Devas', distinguished by his elephant and vajra. Thus we find that collocation of the mount (*vāhana*) and symbols (*lakṣaṇa*) and even mudrā have to be considered

together. Moreover the contextual setting is vitally important in identification. These and other factors, can be worked out only when extensive materials are brought together which do reveal the remarkable possibilities of precise identification in the multiple idioms of Buddhist art. I have tried to assemble them and they have resulted in an encyclopaedic *Dictionary of Buddhist Iconography* which will run into 20 volumes.

Although studies in Buddhist iconography have been going on for over a century and a half, yet a long, long journey lies ahead of us before we are in a position to define in a determinative manner the morphology of Buddhist icons. We shall take as a type specimen the goddess Locanā. Locanā was described for the first time by Hodgson (1830:2.222-257 pl.iii) in the 19th century from the wall of the Yamaguti monastery at Kathmandu (Nepal) where she is depicted in high relief as the consort of Akṣobhya, one of the Five Cosmic Buddhas. The description, reduced to mere two lines, was repeated as late as 1928 by Alice Getty (1928:139). Here Locanā is the consort of Akṣobhya, which is her secondary role; she is primarily the consort of Vairocana. Her very name Locanā (Rocanā) stems from *rocana* in Vai-*rocana*.

In 1937 Walter Eugene Clark published his *Two Lamaistic Pantheons,* where he illustrated and identified the 766 images or inscribed pedestals preserved in the Pao-hsiang Lou temple situated in the garden of the Tz'ŭ-ning palace in the Forbidden City at Peking. This pantheon, executed in about AD1771 during the reign of emperor Ch'ien-lung, is of inestimable value for the history of Buddhist art, whose richness has yet to be studied in details. The goddess Locanā is depicted thrice in the divisions of caryā tantras, anuttara yoginī tantras and anuttara yoga tantras:

2A61 anuttara yoga tantras, whose central deity is Guhyasamāja Akṣobhya.

3B57 anuttara yoginī tantras, whose central deity is Cakrasaṁvara.

5M9 caryā tantras, whose central deity is Abhisambodhi-Vairocana.

In each of these divisions she has a different form. It may be pointed out here, that the four divisions of tantras, namely, kriyā, caryā, yoga and anuttara yoga (male or yogi, female or yoginī) tantras were responsible for variations in the deity, when it occupied a place in them.

In 1958, Benoytosh Bhattacharyya clearly pointed out for the first time that Locanā is the female consort (*prajñā*) of Vairocana, like whom she is white in colour. For this he cited her description from the Advayavajra-saṅgraha (p.42). He reproduced a Nepalese drawing of Locanā (p.63 fig. 31), and pointed out that "paintings and sculptures of this goddess are rare". He even overlooked the three icons in the Pao-hsiang Lou pantheon, which he had used extensively throughout his work. This oversight was due to

the goddess being named Buddhalocanā. We have about 28 separate types and metaphoric representations of Locanā, not to speak of their repetitions in different sources. This will show the abundance of materials that await investigation and correlation in a broad-spectrum study.

A recent work on Buddhist iconography is Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann's *Introduction à l'iconographie du tantrisme bouddhique* (1975). It concentrates on Indian sources, supplemented by the Tibetan tradition, particularly as depicted in the 12th part of the *New Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon* (NTMP), by Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra, which illustrates the maṇḍalas of the Vajrāvalī as elaborated in the Niṣpannayogāvalī. She describes four forms from the Advayavajra-saṅgraha (AVS), Niṣpannayogāvalī (Niṣp.), and Piṇḍī-krama-sādhana (PKS):

i. One face, 2 hands (AVS, Niṣp. 24, NTMP pl. 24)
ii. One face, 8 hands (Niṣp. 3, NTMP 12 pl. 3)
iii. Three faces, 6 hands (PKS, Clark 2A61)
iv. Three faces, 8 hands (Niṣp. 20, NTMP 12 pl. 20)

After a survey of our present knowledge of Locanā in her various hypostases, we now proceed to classify the mass of un-utilized material and to work out the types of the goddess in order to attain a comprehensive understanding of her morphology.

Names. Locanā, Rocanā, Locanī, Buddha-locanā, -locanī. The original form Rocanā is attested in the Ekalla-vīra-caṇḍa-mahāroṣaṇa-tantra (ms. no. G 9089 in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, folio 40b, Bhattacharyya 1974:32). It is the feminine form of *rocana* in Vairocana, whose consort she is. In Japan, she is popularly known as Butsugemmo, Butsugenson, transcribed as Botsudaroshanō, Roshanei, Roshani, in Tibetan: Saṅs-rgyas-kyi-spyan (Mvy. 4278), Spyan-ma (Locanā), and in Chinese: Fo-yen fo-mu.

Hypostases. In Japan Butsugemmo (Buddhalocanā) has three main hypostases (*shohen*): (i) of Vairocana, (ii) of Vajrasattva, and (iii) of Śākyamuni. This means that she occurs in three places: (i) in the quarter of Universal Wisdom as the consort of Mahāvairocana, (ii) as the central deity of her special maṇḍala, where she herself is the Absolute Being or Vajrasattva, though her iconic form is identical with the aforesaid form, (iii) as the apotheosis of the eyes of Buddha Śākyamuni, along with the apotheoses of Śākyamuni's tongue (Tathāgata-jihvā), mouth (T. -vaktra), smile (T. -hāsa), ūrṇā (T. -ūrṇā) in the quarter of Śākyamuni.

(i) Vairocana	quarter of Universal Knowledge (*henchi-in*)	complementary role as the Consort of Vairocana	Kokū-gen 'Eye of Void'
(ii) Vajrasattva	central deity of her maṇḍala	independent role as the Supreme Being	—
(iii) Śākyamuni	quarter of Śākyamuni	subsidiary role as the apotheosis of the eyes of Śākyamuni	Henchi-gen 'Eye of Omniscience'

(i) Here she is the hypostasis of Mahā-Vairocana, in fact, his consort. As such she sits in the quarter of Universal Knowledge. She is called Kokū-gen 'Eye of the Void' because she regards the world as a void or ākāśa. She is Kokū-gen 'space-eye', for suchness, forming the essence of Buddhahood, is like the vacuity of space. She takes the form of a bodhisattva in the Mahākaruṇā-garbha maṇḍala, but it seems to be more proper to consider her a Buddha. (EB.7.29, with modifications).

(ii) The Yugikyō (T 867) says: "The body of Butsumo is on a great, white lotus, has the whiteness of the moonlight, her eyes are smiling, her hands are on the navel, forming the mudrā of meditation." This Locanā referred to in the Yugikyō is the manifestation (*shohen*) of Vajrasattva. Her esoteric name is Shushu-kongō 'Diamond of Special Excellence' (EB.7.28).

In the Yugikyō (T 867.260a, translated by Vajrabodhi during AD723-730) her maṇḍala is described: She is in the central circle surrounded by seven grahas (sun, moon, five planets) and in front of her is Ekākṣara-buddhoṣṇīṣa in the first concentric circle. In the second circle is Vajrasattva and Eight Great Bodhisattvas, and in the third circle are the Eight Vidyādharas. In the outer rectangle are Eight Pūjādevīs (*kuyō*) with four emissaries (*shishō*) in the interior rectangle.

(iii) She is termed Nōjakumo 'Mother of Śākyamuni' in the Dainichikyōsho by Ichigyō (AD683-727, T 1796.633c) and Henchigen 'Eye of Omniscience' in the Dainichikyō translated by Śubhākara-siṁha and Ichigyō (T 848.7c). Nōjakumo signifies 'the mother of benevolence and tranquility', which is also the literary meaning of Śākyamuni (EB.7.28-29). She represents the principle of the virtues inherent in the five eyes of Buddha: the eyes are the gate of wisdom, leading one to inner enlightenment. That she is called Butsumo 'the Buddha-mother' does not mean that she is the procreator of Buddhas, but that the principle of wisdom she represents is the generating power that makes up Buddhahood. According to the Dainichikyō (Mahāvairocana-sūtra), Butsumo is of true golden colour, brilliantly shining, and wrapped in a white robe; illuminating all things like the sun, she sits in the state of perfect meditation. A commentary explains that this true golden-coloured body of Butsumo is the substance of Suchness itself; the white

robe shows the purity of all its outer manifestations; it shines because it puts an end to the darkness of every form of falsehood (EB.7.28-29).

In the Japanese paintings of the maṇḍala, she is denominated Sarva-tathāgata-maṇi. So we will not deal with her in this paper and her iconography will be treated under the entry of Sarva-tathāgata-maṇi, in consonance with the well-established nomenclature of the Genzu mandara or 'prevalent painted maṇḍalas'.

The above excursion makes it clear that two distinct goddesses converged in later times owing to phonetic confusion in nomenclature. One was the consort of Vairocana, whose original name was Rocanā 'the Effulgent Goddess'. She was represented along with Vairocana. The second one was the apotheosis of the Eyes of Buddha Śākyamuni, and she was termed (Buddha)locanā(ī), where *locana* means 'eye'; *r* slurred into *l* in pronunciation and this led to the merger of Rocanā into Locanā. This must have taken place at an early date, as the Chinese versions of the seventh century translated Locanā by the ideogram for 'eye'. This loss of differentiation is also evident in Tibetan *Spyan-ma*, where *spyan* is 'eye'. This was further reflected in the philosophical interpretation of Japanese Butsugenson 'Goddess of Buddha's Eye'. Eye indicates the Buddha's middle path. The wisdom of Prajñā-pāramitā is personified and named Buddha-mother or Buddha's Eye because from her all Buddhas and bodhisattvas are born.

Ritual. In Japan, she is worshipped to secure long life and prosperity (JEBD 26a). She is also prayed to for efficient help to avoid disasters or to conquer enemies (EB. 7.29). Her ritual is śāntika (*sokusai*) and ābhicāruka (*gōbuku*) homa. The Butsugen-giki (T 981) by Ichigyō (AD683-727) is specifically devoted to her rites alone. The Yugikyō by Vajrabodhi (entered Nālandā in 680 and died in 741 or 731) has a special chapter devoted to her rites.

Key to iconographic types and metaphoric symbols. Now we will classify the materials from Indian, Indonesian, Nepalese, Tibetan, Mongolian, Chinese, Japanese and other sources. From a comparative analysis of them we present here the morphological types of Locanā, indicating their contextual setting within a maṇḍala, date of the text or icon whence derived, exact reference, Sanskrit name, Tibetan or Japanese equivalent, iconic description, and illustration.

TWO-ARMED LOCANĀ

1. both hands in dhyāna mudrā
2. r.h. cakra, l.h. tarjanī
3. r.h. chopper, l.h. tarjanī

4. r.h. broken, 1.h. cakra on lotus
5. r.h. cakra, 1.h. white lotus
6. r.h. fist, 1.h. vajra
7. r.h. vajra, 1.h. viśvavajra
8. both hands hold upright vajra
9. r.h. vajra in hand in varada, 1.h. vajra in hand in vitarka
10. r.h. varada, 1.h. abhaya
11. r.h. varada, 1.h. cintāmaṇi or lotus
12. both hands in dharmacakra mudrā

FOUR-ARMED LOCANĀ

13. cakra, sword, maṇi, lotus

SIX-ARMED LOCANĀ

14. r.h. cakra, vajra, white lotus, 1.h. bell, jewel, sword

EIGHT-ARMED LOCANĀ

15. r.h. cakra, vajra, sword, arrow, 1.h. kapāla, bell, lasso, bow
16. r.h. varada, abhaya, vajra, arrow, 1.h. lasso in tarjanī, jewel-casket (*ratna-mañjarī*), rosary, bow
17. two hands in dharmacakra mudrā, r.h. sword, arrow, vajra, 1.h. Prajñāpāramitā-book, bow, vajra-bell
18. Symbols (samaya, Jap. sammaya-gyo)
19. Bījākṣara (symbolic syllables) : GA, GAṂ, BHRŪṂ, ŚRĪ
20. Mantra
21. Mudrās, Japanese
22. Mudrās, Tibetan
23. Mudrās, Balinese

24-28. Maṇḍalas (rūpa-m., bīja-m., samaya-m.)

* * *

TWO-ARMED LOCANĀ

1. The oldest form of Locanā, in her original hypostasis as the consort of Vairocana, is found in the Mahākaruṇā-garbha maṇḍala (AD806, Esot. 18) as Butsugen Butsumo (Buddha-locanā Buddha-mātā). She is the fourth from the south and to the left of the triangle in the quarter of universal knowledge (henchi-in). Here she is seated with both hands in dhyāna mudrā, like her Lord Vairocana, who is also seated with both hands in the dhyāna mudrā. For details see earlier.

#1

#4

2. Locanā (Tib. Spyan-ma) in the northern Viśvaḍāka maṇḍala of Pañcaḍāka 24.42, Niṣp. text p.77 *Locanā sitā cakradharā*: white, holds a cakra in the r.h. and 1.h. tarjanī, in the retinue of Viśvaḍāka. She is the first of the four prajñā: Locanā, Māmakī, Pāṇḍarā, Tārā, the consorts of the four Buddhas of the quarters.

3. As the consort (prajñā) of Buddhaḍāka in the maṇḍala of Pañcaḍāka (Niṣp. 24): r.h. chopper, 1.h. tarjanī (IIT p. 232).

4. Locanā from Chaṇḍi Jago, Java (Indonesia), 13th century, seated, r.h. broken, 1.h. holds cakra on a lotus. Her name is inscribed on the image in Nāgarī script: *bharālī Locanā* (J. L. A. Brandes, Tjandi Djago, pl. 7). The Advayavajra-saṅgraha, p.42, describes her as: *āgneyakoṇa-dale candramaṇḍalopari śukla-Loṁ-kārajā śukla-varṇā Locanā cakra-cihnā pṛthivīdhātu-svarūpā Tathāgata-kulodbhavā moha-raktā* "On the disc of the moon in the south-eastern corner there is Locanā originating from the white syllable Loṁ. She is white in colour, bears the recognition symbol of the discus, and is the embodiment of the cosmic element of Earth. She belongs to the Tathāgata family and is stooped in delusion." (IBI p.55 with adaptations).*

As long as Vajrayāna was prevalent in Indonesia, from the eighth to the fourteenth century, from the maṇḍala of Borobudur to the kakavin (kāvya poem) of Sutasoma (1975:126) by Mpu Tantular (14 cent.), Locanā was the consort of Vairocana (Sutasoma 83.7b), who was the supreme among the Five Sugatas (*śrī Vairocana....makādi Pañcasugata,* id. 53.2d).

5. Buddhalocanā (Tib.Saṅs-rgyas-spyan-ma) as one of the Five Vajrāsana Iṣṭa-devas; r.h. cakra, 1.h. white lotus (Tib. padma dkar-po). Rin-ḥbyuṅ 70a = R.L. 1.900 line 4.

6. r.h. fist, 1.h. vajra. Kakuzen-shō 'collection of Kakuzen' written and drawn by him about 1183-1213, 102.3. Compare B. in the Pañcaḍāka maṇḍala where her 1.h. is clenched in a fist (Niṣp. text p. 77).

7. The modern Nepalese drawing reproduced in IBI fig. 31 on p.63 is not clear; r.h. vajra on lotus, 1.h. viśvavajra on lotus.

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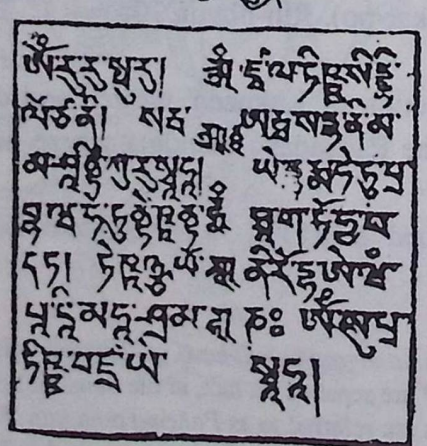
*Bhattacharyya (1958:54) has wrongly interpreted *tathāgata-kulodbhavā* as "Locanā belongs to the Tathāgata family to which the Dhyāni Buddha Vairocana* are separate. In fact, in the Sanskrit text the word *tathāgata* refers to Vairocana. The Five Cosmic Buddhas are referred to as *Pañca-Tathāgata, Pañca-Jina, Pañca-Buddha,* or *Pañca-Sugata.* Bhattacharyya again erred in saying that "L. is represented in Tibet (Getty 1928:139)". The representation in Getty referred to by him is from the Nepalese monastery of Yamaguti.

8. Buddhalocanā (Chin. Fo-yen fo-mu) occurs in the division of caryā tantras in the Pao-hsiang Lou Pantheon (ca. AD1771) 5M9. Both hands hold an upright vajra.

9. Locanā in high relief on the walls of the Yamaguti monastery at Kathmandu (Nepal), as the consort of Akṣobhya among the prajñās of the Five Buddhas. She is blue as the consort of Akṣobhya who is of blue colour (Getty 1928:36). "Her hands, in varada and vitarka mudrā, hold the stalks of lotus-flowers, each of which supports a vajra standing on end." (Getty 1928:139, following illustration in Hodgson, Sketch of Buddhism, JRAS vol. ii, 1830, pl. III). Compare no.7, which may be a careless copy of this Locanā.



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#6

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10. Locanā: r.h. varada, 1.h. abhaya. Dharma-koṣa-saṅgraha p. 115: *dvau bhujau yasyā varadābhaya-mudre.*

11. Seated, r.h. varada, 1.h. cintāmaṇi supported by a lotus. Besson-zakki 'description of divinities' by Shinkaku (AD1117-1180) 87.13. The same form is delineated in clear and beautiful lines in the Daigo-bon-zuzō 'figures in a copy kept in Daigoji', Kyoto, 92.2.

The attributes of the hands have been interchanged in the Kakuzen-shō 'collection by Kakuzen' written and drawn by him about AD1183-1213, 102.2: r.h. cintāmaṇi on a lotus, 1.h. varada.

#11

12. (Chin. Fo-yen fo-mu), occurs in the division of anuttara yoginī tantras in the Pao-hsiang Lou Pantheon (ca. AD1771) 3B57. Dances in ardha-paryaṅka posture, both hands in dharma-cakra mudrā.

FOUR-ARMED LOCANĀ

13. Locanā (Tib. Spyan-ma) occurs in the āgneya (S.E.) corner of the inner circle in the maṇḍala of [25-deity Guhyasamāja] Māñjuvajra 1.6, Niṣp. text p. 3 *agneyyāṁ Locanā Vairocana-samā* where she is said to be identical with Vairocana, whose attributes are cakra, sword, maṇi and lotus. The same four-armed B. is depicted in the Daigo-bon-zuzō 'figures in a copy kept in Daigoji', Kyoto, 92.3.

SIX-ARMED LOCANĀ

14. Piṇḍīkrama-sādhana 131b-135a. White, three faces: white (central), red (right), black (left). Six arms: r.h. cakra, vajra, white utpala lotus, l.h. bell, jewel, sword, In Niṣp. text p. 5 (maṇḍala of Piṇḍīkramokta Akṣobhya 2.6): *Locanā Vairocana-samā | kintu puṇḍarīka-sthāne sitotpalaṁ* (IIT p.233 III). Illustrated in the division of anuttara yoga

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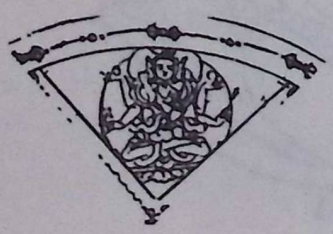
#14



#13

tantras in the Pao-hsiang Lou Pantheon (ca. AD1771) 2A61, with the Chin. name Fo-yen fo-mu 'Buddhalocanā' on the pedestal.

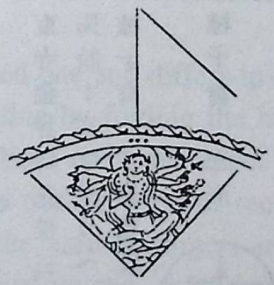
EIGHT-ARMED LOCANĀ

15. In the īśāna corner around the central deity of the maṇḍala of 37-deity Sampuṭa-tantra Vajra-sattva 3.6 is the Locanā with one face and 8 arms. Niṣp. text p. 9 *īśāne Locanā śuklā 'ṣṭabhujā savyaiś cakra-vajra-khaḍga-bāṇān, vāmaiḥ kapāla-ghaṇṭā-pāśa-dhanūṁṣī*: white in complexion, r.h. cakra, vajra, sword, arrow, 1.h. kapāla, bell, lasso, bow (IIT p. 232 II).

16. Locanā (Tib. Spyan-ma) in the first circle surrounding the central deity of the 43-deity maṇḍala of Mañjuvajra 20.6, Niṣp. text p. 48 *aiśānyāṁ Locanā pītā sattva-paryaṅkiny aṣṭa-bhujā dakṣiṇair varadābhaya-vajra-śarān vāmais tarjanī-pāśa-ratna-mañjary-akṣasūtra-dhanūṁṣī dadhānā*: in the īśāna corner, yellow in complexion, seated in sattva-paryaṅka posture, 8 arms: r.h. varada, abhaya, vajra, arrow, 1.h. lasso in tarjanī, jewel-casket (*ratna-mañjarī*), rosary, bow.

17. Locanā (Tib. Spyan-ma) in the īśāna corner of the maṇḍala of Dharmadhātu-vāgīśvara Mañjughoṣa 21.14, Niṣp. text p. 55 where she is like Mañjughoṣa who is eight-armed: two hands in dharmacakra mudrā, r.h. sword, arrow, vajra, 1.h. Prajñāpāramitā-book, bow, vajra-bell.

#15



#16

#17

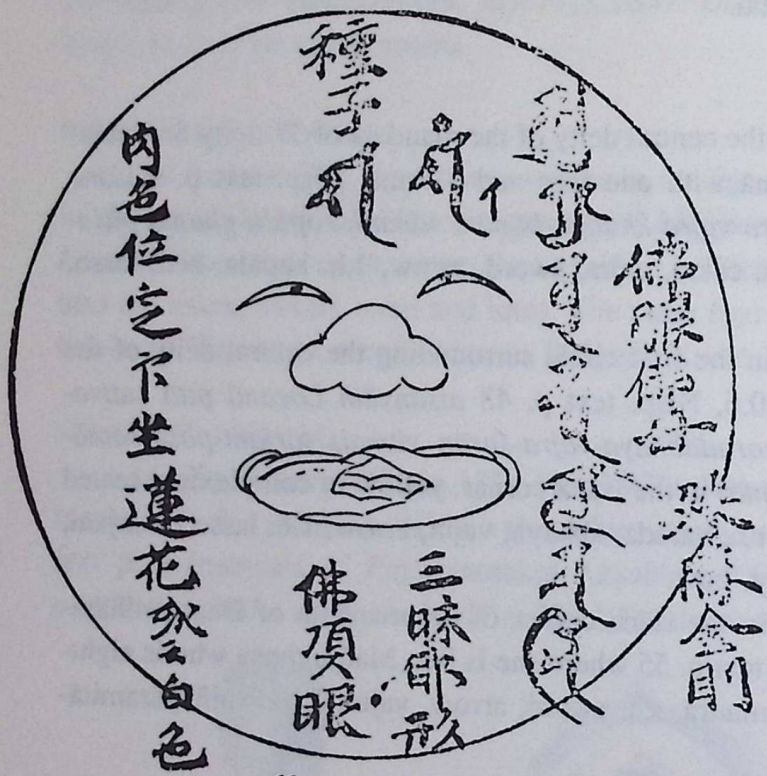
18. Symbols. Her sammayagyō is (1) a bucchō 'Buddha-head' with an eye on either side of it; (2) a lotus flower upon which is placed Butsumo's mudrā with eyes upon it; (3) a single vajra with eyes; (4) a jewel with eyes (this one represents Nojakumo Butsugen), EB.7, 29. Illustrations in the Chōjō mandara scroll at the Toji monastery, Zuzō-shō 'selection of figures' (Entsuji monastery scrolls) 86.13, in Byaku-hokku-shō 'the White Jewel Oral Tradition' compiled by Ryōson, scrolls 1-167 kept at Kongō-sammai-in monastery, Koyasan, 194§17 (6.420-421).

佛眼 ※可加用之印明事 金剛吉祥破宿成就一切明八大菩薩八大明王總印呪也

梵號 [梵字] 佛 [梵字] 眼

密號 殊勝金剛

種子 [梵字]字變成金剛眼形 謂一古左右有眉并目



如是出之。寶心云。火焰中有一股。左右有眼坐蓮云〻

或圖云

東寺金界降三世三昧耶會不空眼。三形。獨股。十文字。チカヘテ。左右。二目。證據也。

種子 [梵字] 三形獨股

種子 [梵字] 三形

口云。[梵字]字如前。三形圓光中有五眼。神樂岳長慶公護摩鈔云。五眼在圓光鬘內云〻

種子 [梵字] 三形

#18

19. Her bījākṣara or nuclear syllable is *GA* or *GAṀ*, the first letter of Sanskrit *gagana,* meaning sky or space (EB.7, 29). In *GAṀ* the *ṁ* represents the praṇava. Other symbolic syllables of Buddhalocanā in the Shittan-shūji-ruijū are *BHRŪṀ* and *ŚRĪ*.

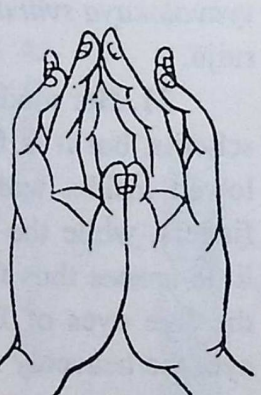
20. There are several mantras of B., the shortest of which is *Oṁ Buddha-Locani svāhā*. As for Nojakumo the mantra is *Oṁ tathāgatacākṣu vyavalokaya svāhā* (EB.7, 29). The mantra is reproduced in the Shittan-shūji-ruijū.

21. Her mudrā is a complicated one and differs in detail in the different schools, but it is formed in its outline by folding the hands, somewhat hollowed inside, with index fingers bent over the upper parts of the middle fingers, while the thumbs press the middle parts of the middle fingers. The little spaces thus formed between the various fingers are meant to represent the five eyes of Butsu-gen: the wisdom-eye, the Dharma-eye, the Buddha eye, the heavenly eye and the physical eye. Her mudrā is the Hōkaijō-in, the same as that of Mahāvairocana (EB.7, 29). Mudrā of B. is illustrated in Inzu 'illustrations of mudrās' 244.84, 37; mudrā and mantra of B. in Bus-setsu .....nenju-giki 240.42; and various mudrās in the Shingon-mikkyō-zu-inshū 3.85, 4.14-15.

#19

[#20

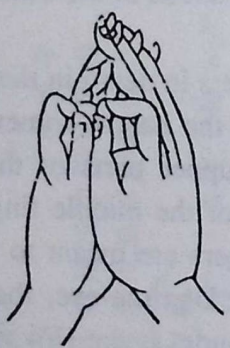
佛眼



仏眼

根本大印

二手虚心合掌二頭指屈附二中指上節如眼笑形二空各捻忍願中節文亦如眼笑形二小指復微開亦如眼笑形若以印拭目及眉兼竪拭眉間想成五眼又以印兼誦明右旋拭面三遍一切見者皆悉歓喜



又印

虚心合掌屈二頭指附二中指上節並立
二大指二中指押中節文二小指離開

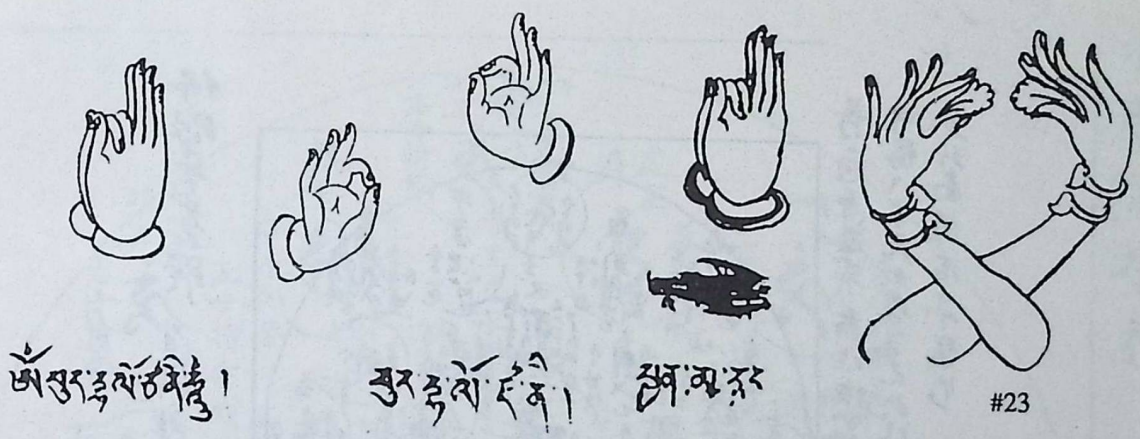
金剛合掌己並屈二頭指甲合並竪大各押頭指側

能寂母
仏眼印 五

金剛合掌屈二頭指合甲並竪二大指押二頭指側

22. Tibetan mudrās of B. in Münter no. 79 (ms. at the Royal Library, Copenhagen, purchased in Peking) 37b, 58b, 81b; reproduced by Erik Haarh, Contributions to the study of mandala and mudrā, AO 23(1959):81.

23. Balinese mudrā: C. Hooykaas, *Balinese baudda brahmans* (Amsterdam 1973), p. 103, m2.



#22 #23

24. In the Vajrayāna tradition as represented by the Niṣp. and Lamaist depictions, Locanā does not have independent maṇḍalas where she herself is the central figure. It is only in Japan that maṇḍalas are devoted specifically to Locanā. There she sits alone in the centre of the maṇḍala in the dhyāna mudrā. The deities in these maṇḍalas can be shown in three ways: (i) in iconic forms: rūpa-maṇḍala, (ii) as symbolic syllables: bīja-maṇḍala, (iii) as symbols: samaya-maṇḍala.

The maṇḍalas are classified here on the basis of their structural analysis in terms of the number of deities in the concentric circles surrounding the central deity, those in the four corners, or in the outer rectangle(s). The numerical analysis is as follows, irrespective of the manner of depiction:

24	1 + 24	bīja
25	1 + 24 + 4	rūpa
26	1 + 24 + 4 + 8	rūpa, bīja, samaya
27	1 + 24 + 4 + 16	rūpa, bīja
28	1 + 24 + 12	bīja

B. maṇḍala, 1 + 24 (B. surrounded by 24 deities), bījākṣaras, Shika-shō-zuzō 'figures copied by four masters' 89.10.

The same bīja-maṇḍala is found in the Shoson-zuzō p.146, where the names of the 24 surrounding deities are legible. This text specifies that the configuration is according to the Yugikyō by Vajrabodhi.

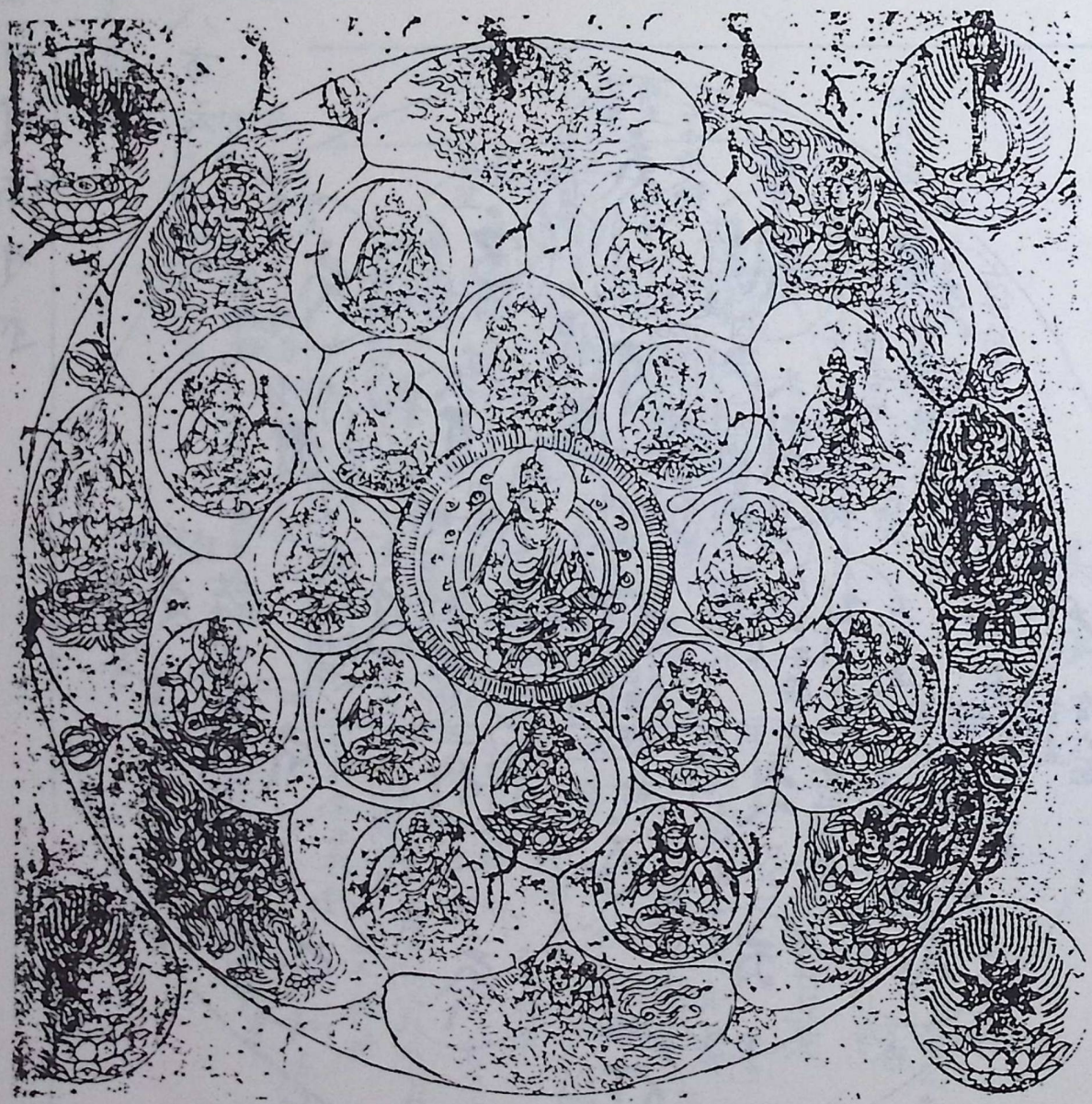
佛眼曼荼羅

普通曼多罗者

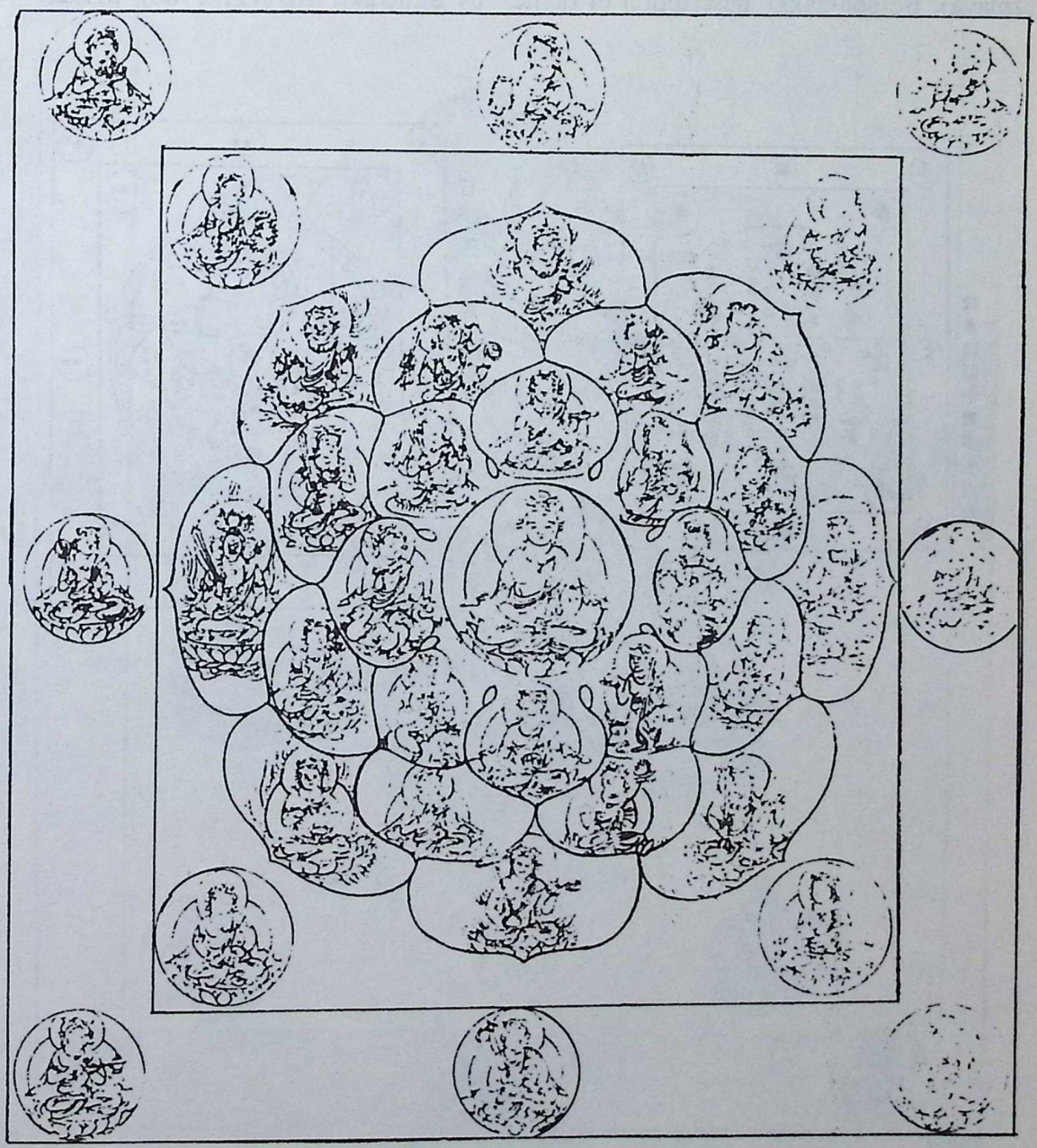
八供四摂八方天

図之

25. B. maṇḍala, 1 + 24 + 4 (B. surrounded by 24 deities in iconic form, and 4 corners guarded by four goddesses represented as symbols), in the Rishukyo-juhatte-mandara 'maṇḍalas of the 18 sections of the Naya-sūtra' kept at the Daigoji monastery, Kyoto, 122.20.



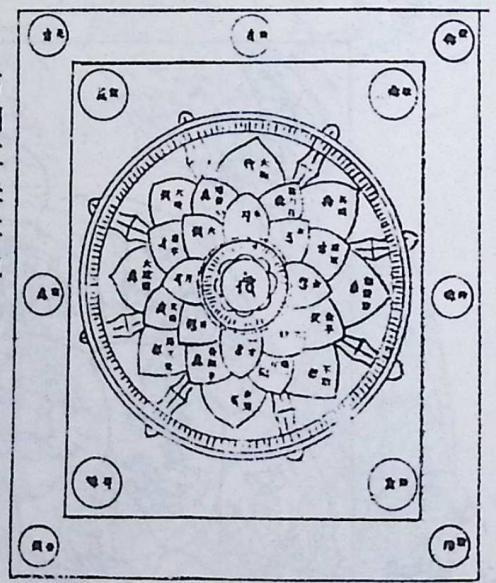
26. B. maṇḍala, 1 + 24 + 4 + 8 (B. surrounded by 24 deities in a concentric lotigram, 4 deities in the corners, and 8 deities in the outer rectangle), in the Mandara-shū 'collection of maṇḍalas' compiled by Kōnen, copied in AD1187, 98.1. The names of the deities in the maṇḍala are also specified. The names of deities are also given in the Asaba-shō, compiled by Shōchō (AD1205-1282), 264§62 (9.72).



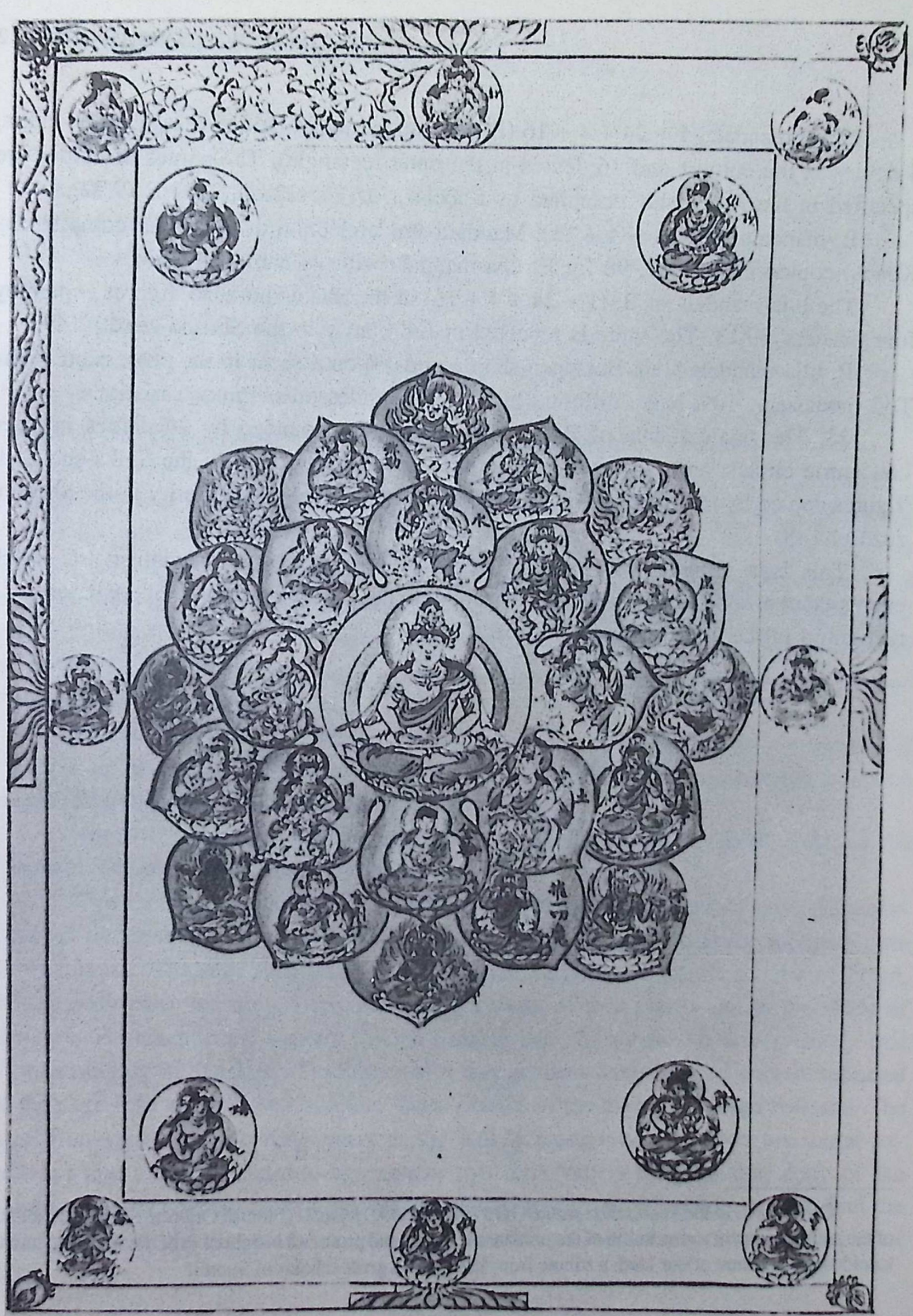
#26

The bīja-maṇḍala of B. (1 + 24 + 4 + 8). Kakuzen-shō 'collection by Kakuzen', written and drawn by him about AD1183-1213, 102.4. This bīja-maṇḍala is found with minor variations in the Shika-shō-zuzō 'figures copied by four masters' 89.11. So also in the Shoson-zuzō p.147.

B. samaya-maṇḍala, 1 + 24 + 4 + 8, where all the deities are represented as symbols (samaya). Besson-zakki 'description of deities' by Shinkaku (AD1117-1180), 87.12.



#26



圖像 No. 13. 修眼曼荼羅

27. B. maṇḍala, 1 + 24 + 4 + 16 (B. surrounded by 24 deities in lotigraphic cakra, 4 deities in the corners and 16 deities in the outer rectangle). The names of deities are specified in the Asaba-shō, compiled by Shōchō (AD1205-1282), 264§62 (9.72).

B. maṇḍala (1 + 24 + 4 + 16). Mandara-shū 'collection of maṇḍalas' compiled by Kōnen, copied in AD1187, 98 fig.2, rūpa-maṇḍala with its names in Chinese.

The bīja-maṇḍala of B. (1 + 24 + 4 + 16) in the Shika-shō-zuzō 'figures copied by four masters' 89.13. The same is repeated in full clarity in the Shoson-zuzō p.149.

B. bīja-maṇḍala (Jap. Butsugen shūji mandara) on a sheet in the possession of the Toji monastery, 109, has a different bīja for B. besides other minor variations.

28. The bīja-maṇḍala of B. 1 + 24 + 12 (B. surrounded by 24 deities in three concentric circles, and 12 deities in the outer concentric circle), in the Shika-shō-zuzō 'figures copied by four masters' 89.12. The same is repeated in full clarity in the Shoson-zuzō p. 148.

This is a glimpse into the vast world of ever-developing Buddhist art, which expressed the continuing evolution of thought, its constant renewal of experience in realisation in the concomitance of ritual.

Contributed to the *Studia Orientalia* 47(1977).137-149, Helsinki (Finnish Oriental Society) as a token of the author's sincere appreciation of the immense learning and profound insight of Prof. Pentti Aalto into the kaleidoscopic culture of our land: a tribute from India to the great scholar of Suomi.

7. MANTRAS OF THE THOUSAND-ARMED AVALOKITEŚVARA

In September 1970 the author went to Japan to collect Sanskrit texts, and materials for a detailed study of Indo-Japanese iconography, and to visit the rare cultural treasures lovingly preserved in the monasteries of Japan. This study trip was richly rewarded as the author could procure on loan several Sanskrit texts and line drawings of 870 deities which are a fabulous source for the study of Japanese and other Asian idioms of art.

The following pages reproduce the *Daihishin da-ra-ni* "Mahākāruṇika-dhāraṇī". Its longer title can be rendered into Sanskrit as सहस्रभुज–सहस्राक्ष–अवलोकितेश्वर–बोधिसत्त्व–निर्विघ्न–सविस्तर–परिपूर्ण–महाकरुणचित्त–धारणी. It is an extensive dhāraṇī to the forty-two main hands of the Thousand-armed Thousand-eyed Avalokiteśvara.

It begins with gāthās which were translated from Sanskrit into Chinese by Amoghavajra during the T'ang dynasty. It is an eulogy to Avalokiteśvara, the great Lord of Compassion (*karuṇā*), and also a self-exhortation born out of the depths of our spiritual being: "may I rapidiy know the entire Dharma, may I quickly gain the eye of wisdom (*jñānacakṣu*), may I soon deliver all sentient beings, may I attain *upāya-kauśalya,* may I soon ride the boat of *prajñāpāramitā*, and may I soon cross over the sea of suffering". At the end Avalokiteśvara says: "because My teacher is Amitābha so I pray to Amitābha Buddha by reciting this gāthā".

Attributes of the forty-two main hands are depicted and the corresponding mantras are written in the Siddham script. The mantras have been romanised under the hands. Sanskrit has been corrected wherever evident.

The colophon states that it was copied in the 10th year of An-ei (1781) at the Dainichi Temple of the Hatamura village.

This text is a part of the 1000-fascicled encyclopaedia of Sanskrit texts, *Bongaku-shinryō,* undertaken by the great sage Jiun Sonja (1718-1804) of the Shingon/Mantrayāna sect of Japan. The sage Jiun was the last greatest traditional Sanskrit scholar of Japan, whose deep piety led him to the use of robes made of torn pieces and to the study of Sanskrit. He has himself written, "When I am to take up my pen, it is very likely that I am scribbling in Sanskrit". Tradition has it that goddess Sarasvatī had herself appeared to the sage Jiun and initiated him into the mysteries of the divine language Sanskrit. The sage Jiun spent his last thirty years at the Kokiji monastery to deepen his moral excellence and cultivate dharma. No wonder that Sarasvatī is the presiding deity of the Kokiji monastery where annual prayers are offered to her. At this monastery we find the major portion of the thousand-fascicled *Bongaku-shinryō* in the enchanting calligraphy of Jiun.

大悲心陀羅尼

千手千眼觀世音菩薩廣大圓滿無导大悲心大陀羅尼

啓請

稽首觀音大悲主　願力洪深相好身
千臂莊嚴普護持　千眼光明徧觀照
真實語中宣密語　無爲心內起悲心
速令滿足諸希求　永使滅除諸罪業
龍天衆聖同慈護　百千三昧頓熏修
受持身是光明幢　受持心是神通藏
洗滌塵勞願濟海　超證菩提方便門

我今稱誦誓歸依
南無大悲觀世音
南無大悲觀世音
南無大悲觀世音
南無大悲觀世音
南無大悲觀世音
南無大悲觀世音
南無大悲觀世音
南無大悲觀世音

所願從心悉圓滿
願我速知一切法
願我早得智慧眼
願我速度一切衆
願我早得善方便
願我速乘般若船
願我早得越苦海
願我速得戒足道
願我早登圓寂山
願我速會無爲舍

南無大悲觀世音

我若向刀山　願我早同法性身
我若向火湯　刀山自摧折
我若向地獄　火湯自消滅
我若向餓鬼　地獄自枯渴
我若向修羅　餓鬼自飽滿
我若向畜生　惡心自調伏
　自得大智慧

經云發是願已至心念我本師阿弥陀佛名号而後誦此真言

開府儀同三司特進試鴻臚卿檢校司空肅國公謚大辯正
大廣智三藏沙門 不空奉 詔譯

觀世音菩薩如意珠手真言 經云若為富饒種種珠財寶是者當於此手真言

觀世音菩薩羂索手真言 若為種種不安求安穩者當於此手

Cintāmaṇi (oṁ vajrāvatara hūṁ phaṭ).

Pāśa/noose (oṁ kilikili moda hūṁ phaṭ).

觀世音菩薩寶鉢手真言 若為除滅腹中諸病者當於此手

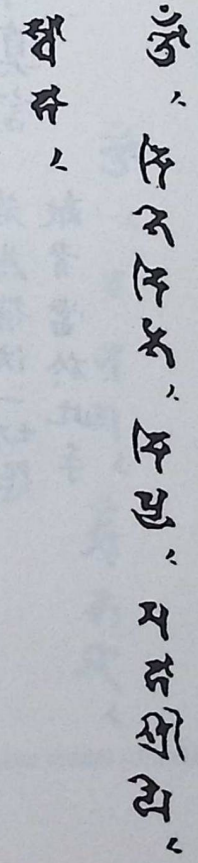
觀世音菩薩寶劍手真言 若為消伏一切魍魎鬼神者當於此手

Pātra/bowl (oṁ kirikiri vajra hūṁ phaṭ).

Khaḍga/lance (oṁ teje tejatu vinitude sādhaya hūṁ phaṭ).

觀世音菩薩跋折羅手真言

若為降伏一切天魔
外道者當於此手



Three-pronged vajra (oṁ divye divye divya-mahāśriyai svāhā).

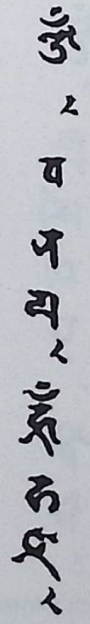
觀世音菩薩金剛杵手真言

若為摧伏一切怨敵者當於此手

One-pronged vajra (oṁ vajrāgre pradīptāya svāhā).

觀世音菩薩施無畏手真言

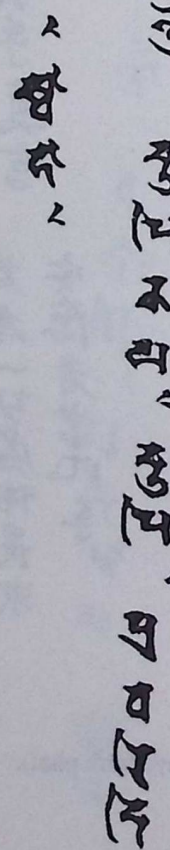
若為一切處怖畏求安隱者當此手



Abhaya mudrā (oṁ abhaya hūṁ phaṭ).

觀世音菩薩日精摩尼手真言

若為眼暗求光明者當於此手



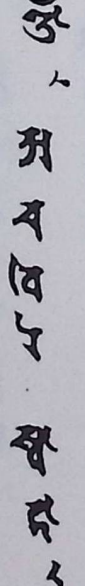
Sūryamaṇi/sunstone (oṁ dupikāya dupi pravaridi svāhā). Crow in the sun. This mantra is to cure blind eyes.

觀世音菩薩月精摩尼手真言

若為熱毒病求清涼者當於此手

Candramaṇi/moonstone (oṁ śaśidhṛk svāhā). The hand holds the moon with the hare and tree. Its application is: 'if one suffers from fever and looks for coolness, one should employ this hand'

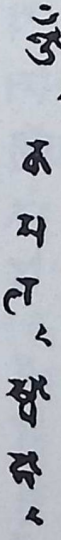
觀世音菩薩寶弓手真言 若為榮官益職者當於此手



Dhanuḥ/bow (oṁ acavire svāhā).

觀世音菩薩寶箭手真言

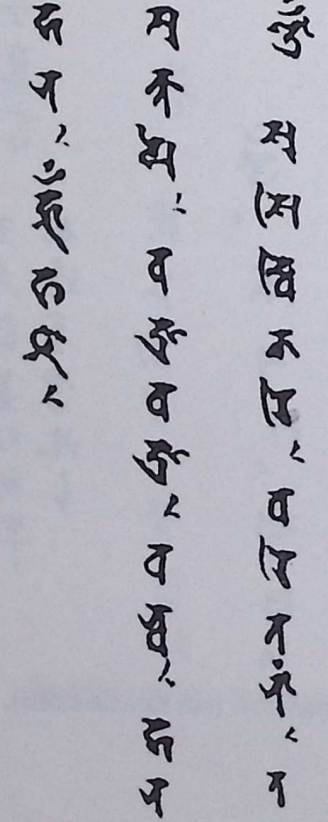
若為諸善明友早
相逢者當此手



Bāṇa/arrow (oṁ kamala svāhā).

觀世音菩薩楊柳枝手真言

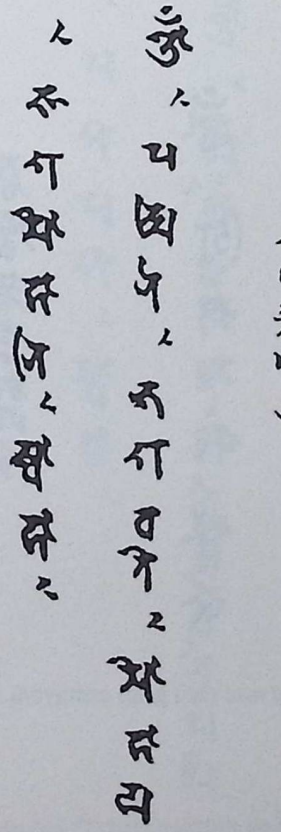
經云若除種種病
惱者當於此手



Willow branch (oṁ susiddhikari varitanāṁ tamukraye vajravajra bandha hana hana hūṁ phaṭ).

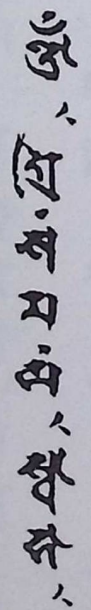
觀世音菩薩白拂手真言

若為除滅一切惡障者當於此手



Camarī (oṁ padmini bhagavati mohaya jagamohani svāhā).

觀世音菩薩寶瓶手真言 若為苦和一切諸
眷屬若當於此手



Kalaśa/vase (oṁ grīṁ samayaṁ svāhā).

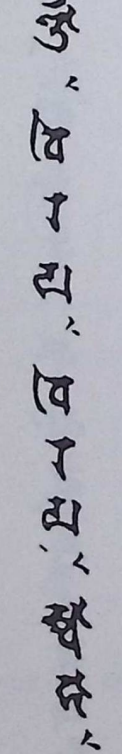
觀世音菩薩傍牌手真言

若為辟除一切虎狼
諸惡獸者當於此手

Bohai (?) (oṁ yakṣaṁ na nāyacandra-dhanuparya paśa paśa svāhā).

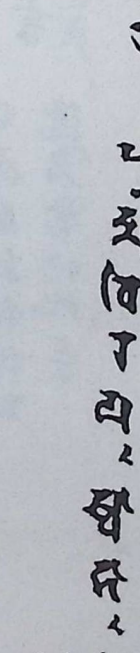
觀世音菩薩鉞斧手真言

若為一切時一切處
離官難者常於此手

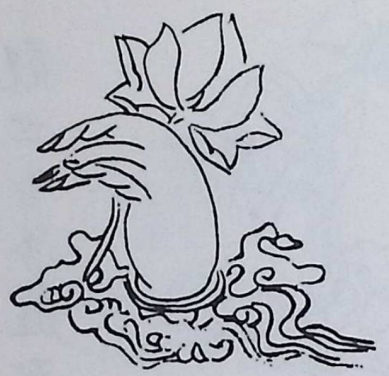


Paraśu/axe (oṁ vīrāya vīrāya svāhā).

觀世音菩薩玉環手真言 若為得男女及諸僕使者當於此手

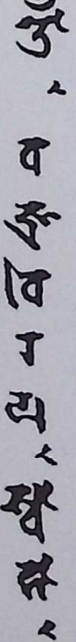


Jade ring (oṁ padmavīrāya svāhā).



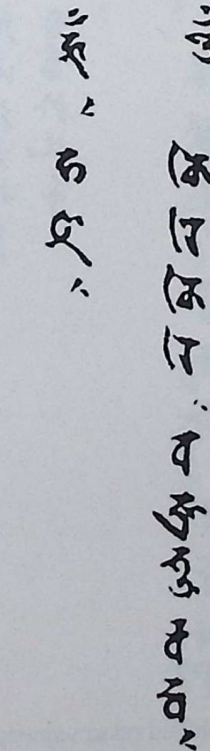
觀世音菩薩白蓮華手真言

若爲成就種種功德者當於此手



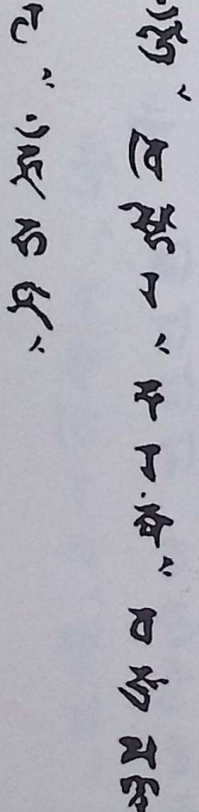
Puṇḍarīka/white lotus (oṁ vajravīrāya svāhā).

觀世音菩薩青蓮華手真言 若為求生十方淨土者當於此手



Utpala/blue lotus (oṁ kirikiri vajrabhūr bandha hūṁ phaṭ).

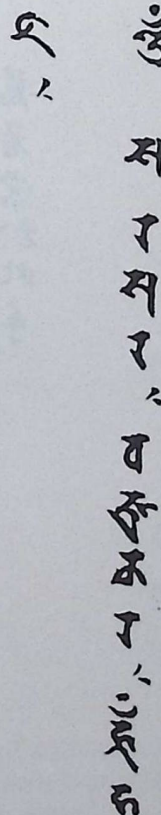
觀世音菩薩寶鏡手真言 若為得大智慧者當於此手



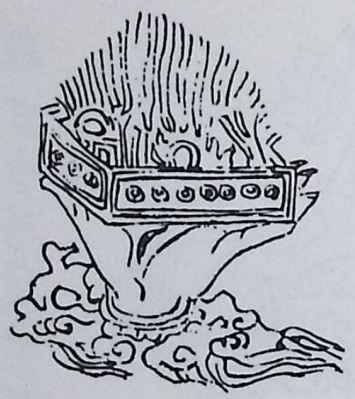
Darpaṇa/mirror (oṁ visphurad rakṣa vajramaṇḍala hūṁ phaṭ).

觀世音菩薩紫蓮華手真言

若欲面見十方諸佛者當於此手

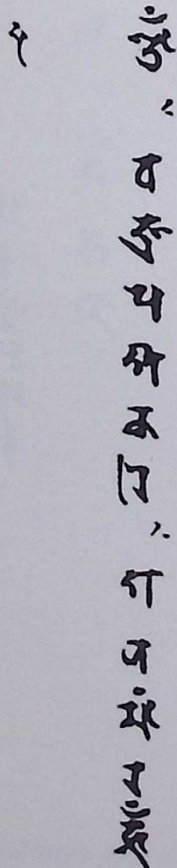


Purple lotus (oṁ sara sara vajrakara hūṁ phaṭ).



觀世音菩薩寶篋手真言

若為得地中諸伏藏者當於此手

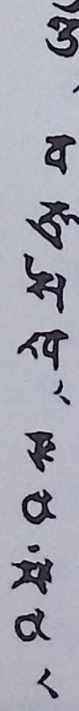


Casket (oṁ vajrapāśakari ganamāṁ ra hūṁ).

觀世音菩薩五色雲手真言 若為成就仙道者當於此手

Five-coloured cloud (oṁ vajrakari raṭamāṃṭa). It is a rite to become a sage, to accomplish the way of a ṛṣi

觀世音菩薩君遲手真言 若為求生諸梵天者當於此手



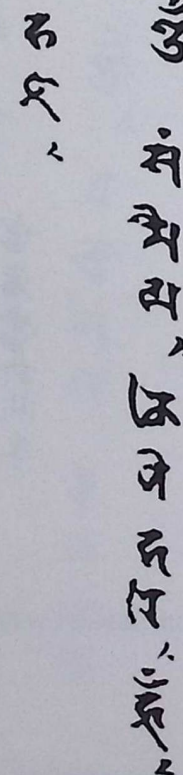
Kuṇḍī (oṁ vajraśikha ruṭamāṁṭa). The word *kuṇḍi* is transcribed in Sino-Japanese characters.

觀世音菩薩紅蓮華手真言 若為求生諸天宮者當於此手

Padma/red lotus (oṁ śaṁkari svāhā).

觀世音菩薩寶戟手真言

若為辟除他方逆賊
怨敵者當於此手



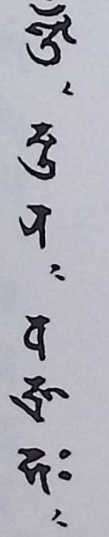
Kuṇta (oṁ saṁmaiya kinehari hūṁ phaṭ).
The weapon is termed *geki* in Japanese.

觀世音菩薩寶螺手真言

若為呼召一切諸天善神者當於此手

Śaṅkha/conch (oṁ śaṁkari mahāsamayaṁ svāhā).

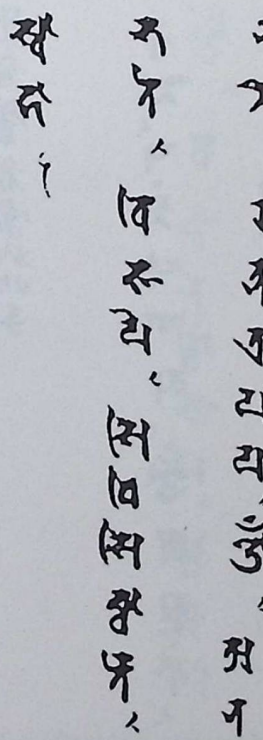
觀世音菩薩髑髏杖手真言 若為使令一切鬼神不相違逆者當於此手



Muṇḍa/skull (oṁ duna vajra haḥ).

觀世音菩薩數珠手真言

若為十方諸佛速來授手者當於此手



Akṣamālā/rosary (namo ratnatrayāya. oṁ anāhate vijaye siddhisiddhārthe svāhā).

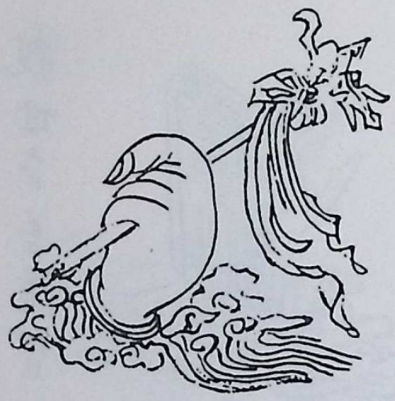
觀世音菩薩寶鐸手真言

若為成就一切上妙
梵音聲者當於此手

Ghaṇṭā/bell (namo padmapāṇaye oṁ amṛtāṅgābhe śriye śriṭhaṁrini svāhā).

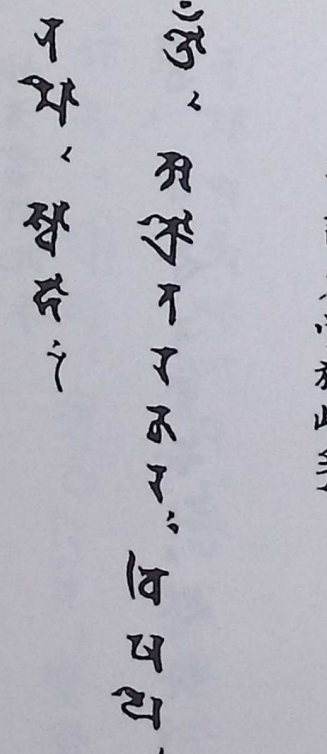
觀世音菩薩寶印手真言 若為口辯言辭巧妙者當於此手

Mudrā/seal (oṁ vajranebhāṁ jāye svāhā).



觀世音菩薩俱尸鐵鉤手真言

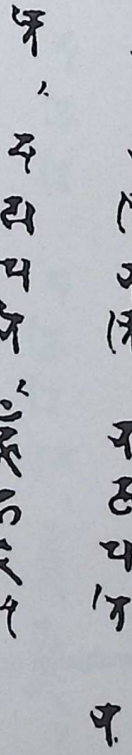
若為善神龍王常來擁護者當於此手



Aṅkuśa (Jap. kushi)/hook (oṁ akrodha-kara-viṣaye namo svāhā).

觀世音菩薩錫杖手真言

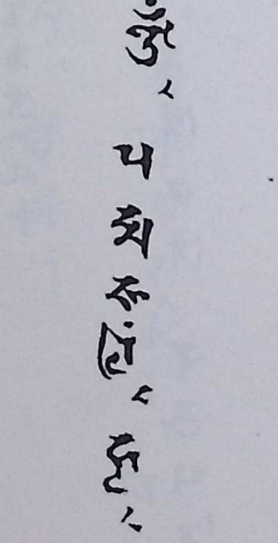
若專慈悲普救一切
衆生者當於此手



Khakkhara (oṁ narti narti naṭapati narti dayāpate ḥūṁ phaṭ). The Jap. word *shakujo* means a 'a traveller's staff'.

觀世音菩薩合掌手真言

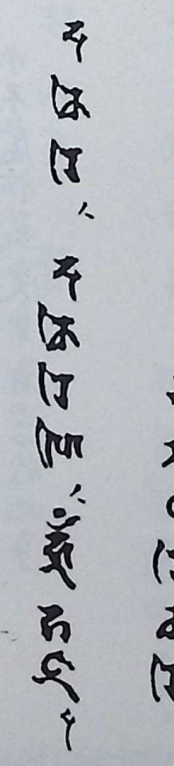
若為令一切鬼神龍蛇虎狼師子人及非人恭敬愛念者當於此手



Añjali (oṁ padmañjaliṃ hṛ).

觀世音菩薩化佛手真言

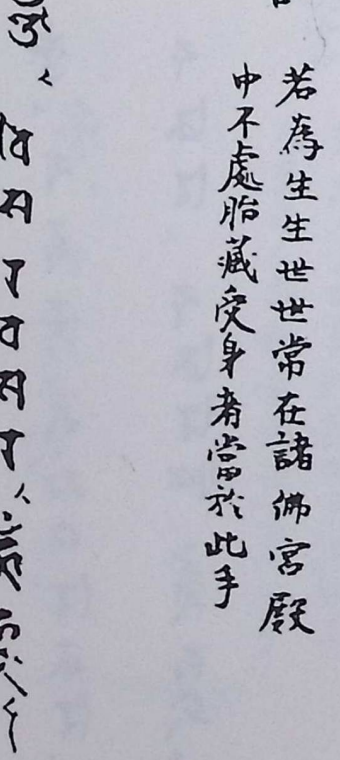
若衆生生之處不離
諸佛邊者當於此手



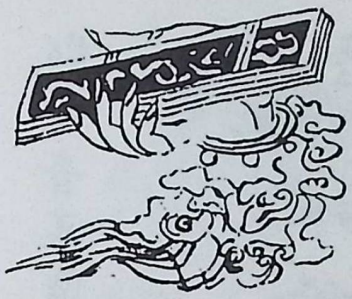
Kebutsu 'emanated Buddha' (i.e. a mini-image of Buddha) (oṁ candra bhamāṁṭa-rikari dakiri dakiriṇi hūṁ phaṭ).

觀世音菩薩化宮殿手真言

若為生生世世常在諸佛宮殿中不處胎藏受身者當於此手

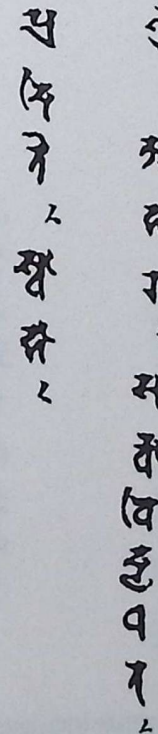


Emanated palace (oṁ visara visara hūṁ phaṭ).

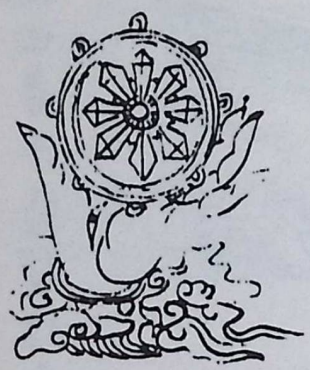


觀世音菩薩寶經手真言

若善多聞廣學者當於此手

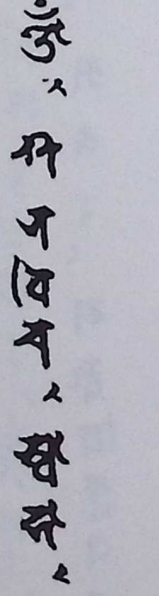


Sūtra/scripture (oṁ āhara sarvavidyādhātu pradite svāhā).



觀世音菩薩不退金輪手真言

若誓從今身至佛身菩提心常不退者當於此手



Never-retreating Cakravartin (oṁ śanavica svāhā).

觀世音菩薩頂上化佛手真言 若為十方諸佛速來摩頂授記者當於此手

Emanated uṣṇīṣa-Buddha (oṁ vajriṇi vajrāṅge svāhā).

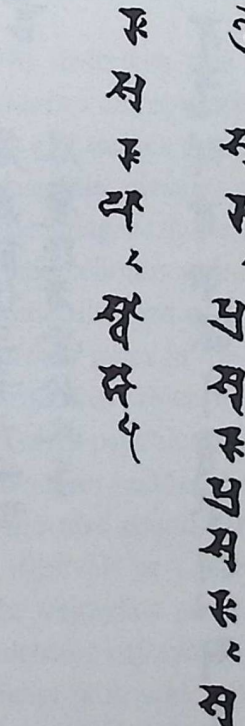
觀世音菩薩蒲桃手真言

若為繁盛果蓏者
穀稼者當於此手

Āmalaka/myrobalan (oṁ āmalakaṁ ti dine svāhā).

觀世音菩薩甘露手真言

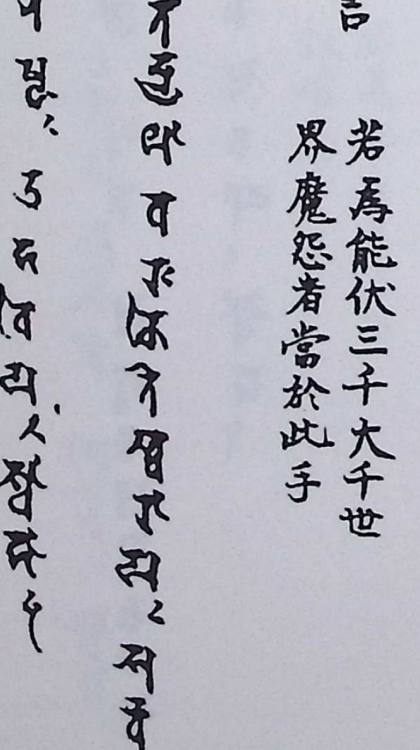
若為令一切飢渴有情
得清涼者當於此手



Amṛta/ambrosia (oṁ suru prasuru prasuru suru suruyā svāhā).

觀世音菩薩摠攝千臂真言

若為能伏三千大千世界魔怨者當於此手



安永十年辛丑正月八日在畑村大日堂

小子尼宗悟敬拜書寫

Mudra of the All-comprehending (*sō-shō*) Sahasrabhuja Avalokiteśvara (tad yathā avalokiteśvarāya sarvanaṣṭa uhaviya svāhā).

8. THE TWELVE LIGHT-BUDDHAS OF KAKRAK, AFGHANISTAN

(in collaboration with Dr. Mrs. Sudarshana Devi Singhal, Varanasi)

The Kakrak cave temples are situated about three miles southeast of the giant Buddhas of Bamiyan. They are grouped around a colossal rockcut Buddha which is twentythree feet in height. This Buddhist monastery, though not recorded by Chinese pilgrims, was of considerable importance as is evident from its existing art. The ceilings of the cave sanctuaries were decorated with colour paintings, some of which are conserved at the Kabul Museum.

A dome painting of circular form, with a diameter of 98 cm, has become famous as the earliest representative of a genre. Rowland (1966:98) identifies it as the painting of a maṇḍala with Vairocana in dharmacakra-mudrā in the centre surrounded by a galaxy of smaller Buddhas in circles tangent to the inner enclosure. He deems it to be "one of the earliest representations of the Mahāyāna Buddhist concept of one of the celestial Buddhas surrounded by his magic emanations, which in ever more elaborate form, became part of the paraphernalia of Vajrayāna Buddhism in Tibet and Nepal and of the Shingon sect in Japan".

Bussagli (1978:36-38) describes this painting as a kind of a maṇḍala: "The cupolas of the rock-cut sanctuaries are covered with Buddha images arranged in contiguous circles (or in hexagons), themselves enclosed in concentric circles, the dome overhead thus formed a kind of maṇḍala, giving a symbolic representation of the sky miraculously filled with innumerable images of the Buddha".

Both the aforementioned scholars opine that the Kakrak cycle is a maṇḍala. But, a maṇḍala is a two-dimensional diagram of a sanctum dedicated to a central deity and its Olympian assembly. It has four gates in the four cardinal directions. The inner portion of the diagram has square structures which are the walls, pillars and other architectural elements of the sanctum. Its inner psychic core is constituted by the eight-petalled lotus of the heart of the devotee wherein resides the main deity with his prominent acolytes. The other psychic elements are also round, like the outermost circle of fire to burn the sins of the meditator. The vajrāvalī or circle of vajras represents the solidity of the adamantine plane wherein the vajrayāna practitioner has become a vajra-being, a vajrasattva, one empowered to undertake vajrayānic practices and rituals. The circle of lotuses, padmāvalī, is the purity of heart with which the devotee approaches the sanctum. Thus the psychic components of the circles of fire, vajras and lotuses in the maṇḍala are round, while the solid material components of the architectonic temple are square. A maṇḍala is thus a square and circle, the squared material space in the circularity of psychospheres.

Prof. Tucci (1949:1.267) clearly points out that the maṇḍala is a two-dimensional plan of the sanctum of the main deity, square in shape according to the Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa 2.37. It corresponds to the palace of the universal monarch, the cakravartin (ibid.318-319), and as an architectural monument it is square. Prof. Tucci has detailed the correspondences of single parts of the palace of the cakravartin with those reflected in the several elements of the maṇḍala. All the circles, the innermost lotus and the circumscribing circles of fire (Tib. *me-ri*), of vajras (*rdo-rje-ra-ba, vajrāvalī*), of the eight cemeteries, and of lotuses pertain to liturgy in its cosmic symbolism.

The word 'maṇḍala' has been rendered as *huei* 會 'assembly' in Chinese by Amoghavajra (Tajima 1959:145) in the nine maṇḍalas of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala. It is an appropriate translation, as it does not specify a maṇḍala as round or circular, but just as an assembly of a central deity with his retinue. The Twin Maṇḍalas in Japan and the 134 maṇḍalas from the Ngor monastery in Tibet are square-and-circle forms. The Kakraḳ cycle cannot be termed a maṇḍala in the correct meaning of the term. Moreover, it can be identified in another way from the East Asian tradition which ultimately derives from the Udīcya region, the Northwest of India, where Kakrak is situated.

The identification of the central deity of the Kakrak cycle was overwhelmed by the concept of the maṇḍala and it was deemed to be Vairocana because of its dharmacakra mudrā. The idea of Vairocana came uppermost to the mind as the famous Japanese Twin Maṇḍalas are both dedicated to Vairocana. The central Buddha of the Kakrak cycle has a clear resemblance to Amitābha Buddha in dharmacakra-mudrā in the wall painting on the kondō of the Hōryuji monastery at Nara. It pertains to the Hakuhō period or the eighth century (EBu.1.441 plate XL). Another painting of Amitābha in dharmacakra-mudrā is Amida raigo by Eshin Sōzu (AD942-1017) coming down to save beings. It is from the Fujiwara period (EBu.1.440 plate XXXIX). Scholars are apt to associate the dhyāna-mudrā alone with Amitābha, which though his prime mudrā is not his only one. The twelfth-century wooden statue of Amitābha and the Twentyfive Bodhisattvas, covered with gold leaf and lacquer, at the Sokujo-in monastery, Kyoto is in the dhyāna mudrā with a quiet dignity of its own. The mandorla surrounding the whole image has the representations of thirteen Light-Buddhas (Fukuyama 1976: plates 30 and 38). The Kakrak Amitābha, in dharmacakra-mudrā, is surrounded by his eleven emanations. They are the twelve Prabhā-Buddhas, Chinese Kuang-fu, Japanese Kōbutsu, who are popular to this day in Japan in the Pure Land schools of Buddhism. Their popularity has been so wide-spread that they have been incorporated in Shingon or Japanese mantrayāna. They are represented by their bījas written in the Siddham script. The bījas

and names are cited here from the original xylographed work of bhikṣu Chōzen and from another tradition given by Mr. Miyano in the Bon-shū-shittan-shūji-ruijū "Collection of Sanskrit Bījas in Siddham Script" edited by Yūchi Miyano of Hiroshima (published by Matsumoto Etaro, Koyasan, 1968).

	Chozen 1.37	Miyano 2.24	
1.	MI	AṂ	The Buddha of Infinite Light Wu-liang kuang-fu, Jap. Muryō kōbutsu
2.	A	HRĪḤ	The Buddha of Boundless Light Wu-pien kuang-fu, Jap. Muhen kōbutsu
3.	TI	OṂ	The Buddha of All-pervasive Light Wu-ai kuang-fu, Jap. Mige kōbutsu
4.	VI	BO	The Buddha of Incomparable Light Wu-tui kuang-fu, Jap. Mutai kōbutsu
5.	JA	YA	The Buddha of the Light of the Flame's King Yen-wang kuang-fu, Jap. Oen kōbutsu
6.	ŚU	PA	The Buddha of Pure Light Ch'ing-ching kuang-fu, Jap. Kanki kōbutsu
7.	DA	TA	The Buddha of Joyful Light Huan-hsi kuang-fu, Jap. Shojo kōbutsu
8.	JÑĀ	RA	The Buddha of Wisdom's Light Chih-hui kuang-fu, Jap. Chie kōbutsu
9.	NA	MU	The Buddha of Unceasing Light Pu-tuan kuang-fu, Jap. Fudan kōbutsu
10.	DU	I	The Buddha of Unthinkable Light Nan-ssŭ kuang-fu, Jap. Nanshi kōbutsu
11.	NI	U	The Buddha of Inexpressible Light Wu-ch'eng kuang-fu, Jap. Muya kōbutsu
12.	NDRA	EṂ	The Buddha of the Light which outshines the Sun and the Moon Ch'ao-jih-yüeh kuang-fu, Jap. Chojitsugetsu kōbutsu

Compare TZ 103.49 for the bījas of the Twelve Light-Buddhas.

Amitābha is associated with Light in twelve ways and that is why he is called 'The Buddha of Twelve Lights'. The twelve Light-Buddhas represent the twelve months of the year as a whole. The above list is derived from the Wu-liang-shou-ching or the Chinese translation of the Amitāyus-sūtra done by Saṅghavarman in AD252 (Nj 27, T360, K26). It is considered to be the best translation in China, Korea and Japan and hence its outstanding vogue in East Asia. It is crucial to underline that Saṅghavarman was of Sogdian origin, a region with which Afghanistan had commercial and cultural relations.

The cult of Amitābha was prevalent in the north-western frontiers of India, known as Uttarāpatha in Buddhist literature and as the Udīcya region in śilpa texts. Moreover, Amitābha reminds us of the prominence of Light in Iranian cosmology. Attention may be drawn to the fact that the early translators of the fundamental texts of the Amitābha cult into Chinese were Parthian, Yüeh-chih, Sogdian and Gandhāra monks. The Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha was translated into Chinese twelve times but only five translations are available now. The earliest translation by the Parthian monk An Shih-kao in AD148-170 is lost. The first available translation is by the Yüeh-chih monk Lokakṣema, completed in AD147-186 (K24). The second Chinese translation in existence is again by a Yüeh-chih, Ch'ien by name, done during AD223-253 (K25). The third extant translation by the Sogdian monk Saṅghavarman has been cited above. A fourth translation was done by Bodhiruci in AD713 (K22/5), who came from south of India and was a brāhmaṇa of the Kāśyapa gotra. The T'ang emperor changed his name from Dharmaruci to Bodhiruci. His translation has fifteen epithets and it reads: "For the reason, the Buddha of Infinite Light has various names, that is:

1. Infinite Light: Wu-liang-kuang
2. Boundless Light: Wu-pien-kuang
3. Unattached Light: Wu-cho-kuang
4. All-pervasive Light: Wu-ai-kuang
5. King of Shining Light: Kuang-chao-wang
6. Light of Dignity: Tuan-yen-kuang
7. Light of Love: Ai-kuang
8. Light of Joy: Hsi-Kuang
9. Visible Light: K'o-kuan-kuang
10. Inconceivable Light: Pu-ssŭ-i-kuang
11. Unequalled Light: Wu-têng-kuang
12. Immeasurable Light: Pu-k'o-ch'êng-liang-kuang
13. Light which outshines the Sun: Yin-pi-jih-kuang

14. Light which outshines the Moon: Yin-pi-yüeh-kuang
15. Light which outshines the Sun and the Moon: Yen-to-jih-yüeh-kuang.

In AD991 Fa-hsien translated the Sukhāvatī-vyūha for the last time into Chinese (Kl199). This translation is in existence and is known as the Sung version, as it was translated during the Northern Sung dynasty. It enumerates thirteen epithets. This translation attests the continued popularity of the Amitābha cult in India as late as the tenth century. He hailed from Kashmir, or from Jalandhara according to a variant tradition (Hobogirin p.283).

The Sanskrit text gives eighteen epithets of Amitābha:

1. Amita-prabha: possessed of infinite splendour
2. Amita-prabhāsa: possessed of infinite brilliancy
3. Asamāpta-prabha: whose light is never finished
4. Asaṅgata-prabha: whose light is not conditioned
5. Prabhā-śikh-otsṛṣṭa-prabha: whose light proceeds from flames of light
6. Sadivya-maṇi-prabha: whose light is that of heavenly jewels
7. Apratihata-raśmi-rāga-prabha: whose light has the colour of unimpeded rays
8. Rājanīya-prabha: possessed of beautiful light
9. Premaṇīya-prabha: possessed of lovely light
10. Pramodanīya-prabha: possessed of delightful light
11. Saṅgamanīya-prabha: possessed of attractive light
12. Upoṣaṇīya-prabha: possessed of pleasant light
13. Anibandhanīya-prabha: possessed of light that cannot be stopped
14. Ativīrya-prabha: possessed of extremely powerful light
15. Atulya-prabha: possessed of incomparable light
16. Abhibhūya-narendra-bhūtrayendra-prabha: possessed of light greater than that of the lords of men, nay, the lords of the three worlds
17. Śrānta-sañcayendu-sūrya-jihmīkaraṇa-prabha: possessed of light which bends the full moon and the sun
18. Abhibhūya-lokapāla-śakra-brahma-śuddhāvāsa-maheśvara-sarvadeva-jihmīkarana-prabha: possessed of light which bends all the conquered gods, Maheśvara, the Śuddhāvāsas, Brahman, Śakra and the lokapālas.

(Sanskrit text in Max Müller 1883:29, English translation in Max Müller 1894:2.29-30)

The Sanskrit text glorifies, beyond doubt, the noble Light (ārya-prabhā) as pure, great, producing bodily pleasure, happiness of mind.... Max Müller (1894:2.30) has misunderstood the passage *sā cāryaprabhā vimalā vipulā kāya-sukha-saṁjananī*... as "the

splendour of the Ārya (noble) is pure, great, producing bodily pleasure...". It is not the splendour of the Ārya, but the ārya-prabhā, the noble light, itself.

The cult of the Twelve Buddhas is also known from the Chinese translation of the Dvādaśa-buddhaka-sūtra by Jñānagupta (Nj 335, T 1348, K 301). The Chinese title can be translated verbatim into English as the "sūtra of the spiritual mantra of the names of twelve Buddhas, which recounts their good qualities, removes obstacles and destroys sin" (Nj 335). Its Sanskrit mantras have been restored by Lcaṅ-skya Qutukhtu the Imperial Preceptor to Emperor Ch'ien-lung in the early 18th century (STP. 6.1416). It is noteworthy that Jñānagupta was a kṣatriya born in Gandhāra in AD523, arrived at Ch'ang-an in 560 and came to Loyang in 581 where he translated 36 texts into Chinese. He completed the translation of Dvādaśa-buddhaka in AD587. This text was translated again by I-tsing in AD711 (Nj 336, T 1349, K 302). The high popularity of the Twelve Buddhas during the sixth and seventh centuries must have been responsible for a second Chinese translation within a span of 124 years. The diffusion of the Twelve Buddhas had been so pervasive that they had become a part of the general repertoire of Buddhism. They are to be seen in the upper halo of a twelfth century Japanese painting of the Fujiwara period of Bhaiṣajyaguru/Yakushi Nyōrai (Visser 1935:2.556). The Dvādaśa-buddhaka nāma mahāyāna-sūtra was translated into Tibetan in the ninth century by Jinamitra, Dānaśīla and Ye-śes-sde (Toh.273).

The cult of the Twelve Light-Buddhas is an extension of Sun-worship. The Twelve Suns (Dvādaśa-Āditya) represent the twelve months in an year. Under his twelve appellations, Lord Viṣṇu is associated with the twelve months in Nepal (Vergati 1982:29):

Keśava	mārgaśīrṣa month	red
Nārāyaṇa	pauṣa month	white
Mādhava	māgha month	blue
Govinda	phālguna month	yellow
Viṣṇu	caitra month	black
Madhusūdana	vaiśākha month	blue
Trivikrama	jyeṣṭha month	white
Vāmanarūpa	āṣāḍha month	blue
Śrīghana	śrāvaṇa month	red
Hṛṣīkeśa	bhādrapada month	blue
Padmanābha	āśvina month	white
Dāmodara	kārttika month	red

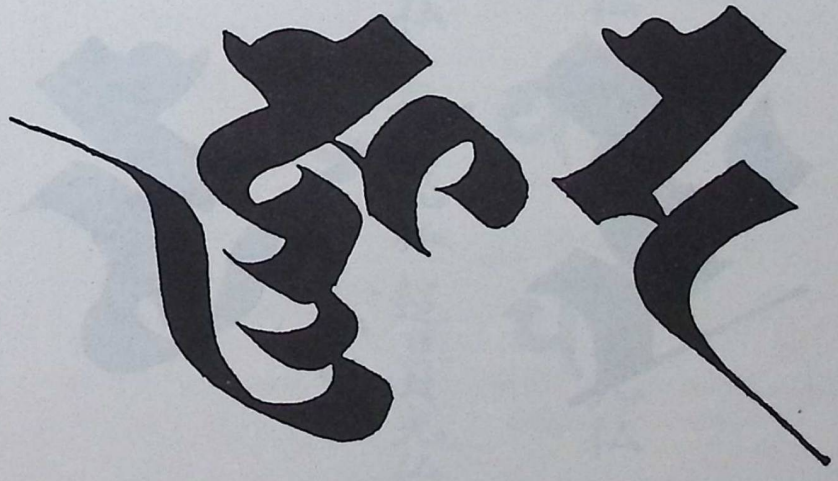
The Kakrak twelve-deity representation is the viśvarūpa of Amitābha corresponding to the twelve months of an year, whose consecration has been a rite as ancient as the Vedic year-long yajñas like the gavāmayana.

Amitābha in the Kondō/Main Hall of the Horyuji monastery, 8th century

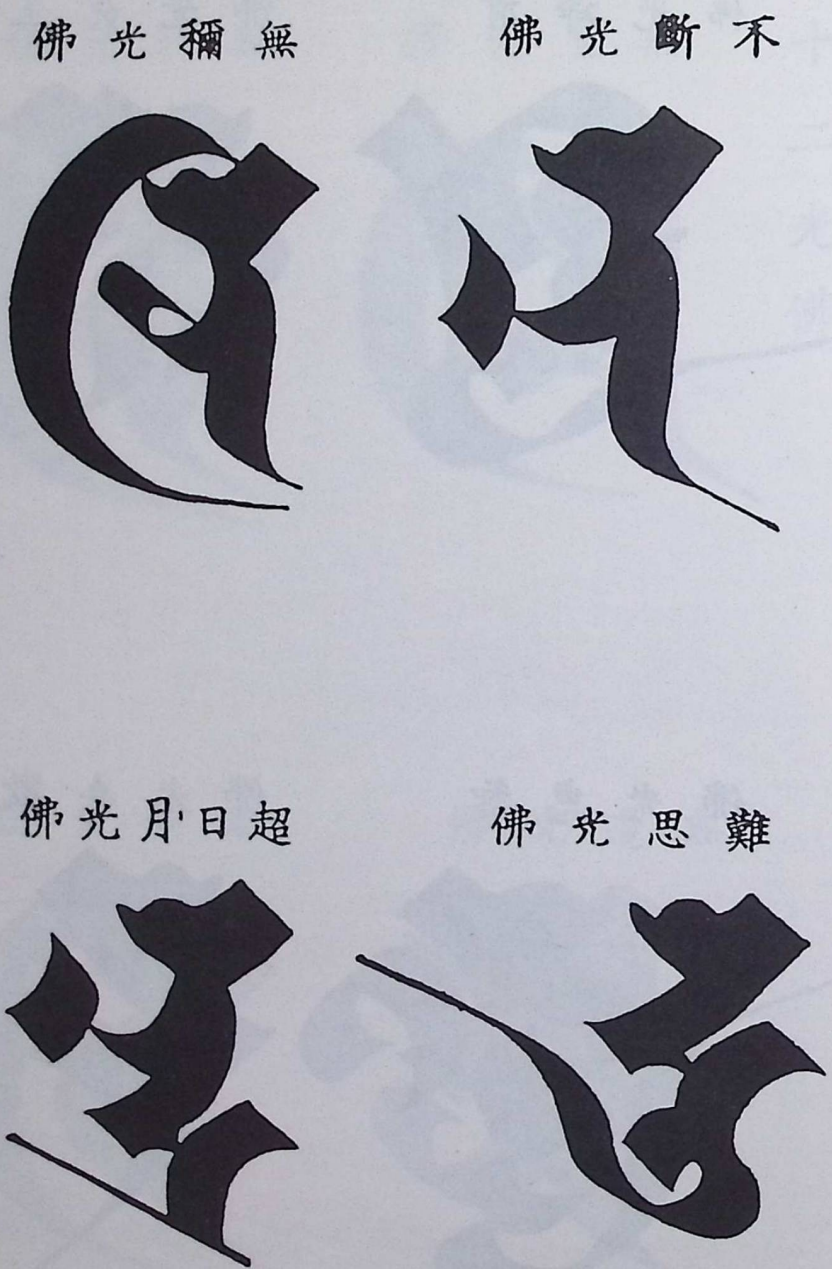
Bījas of the Twelve Light-Buddhas from the
Shuji-shū or "Collection of Bījas" by bhikṣu Chōzen (published in 1670).

王炎光佛　　清淨光佛

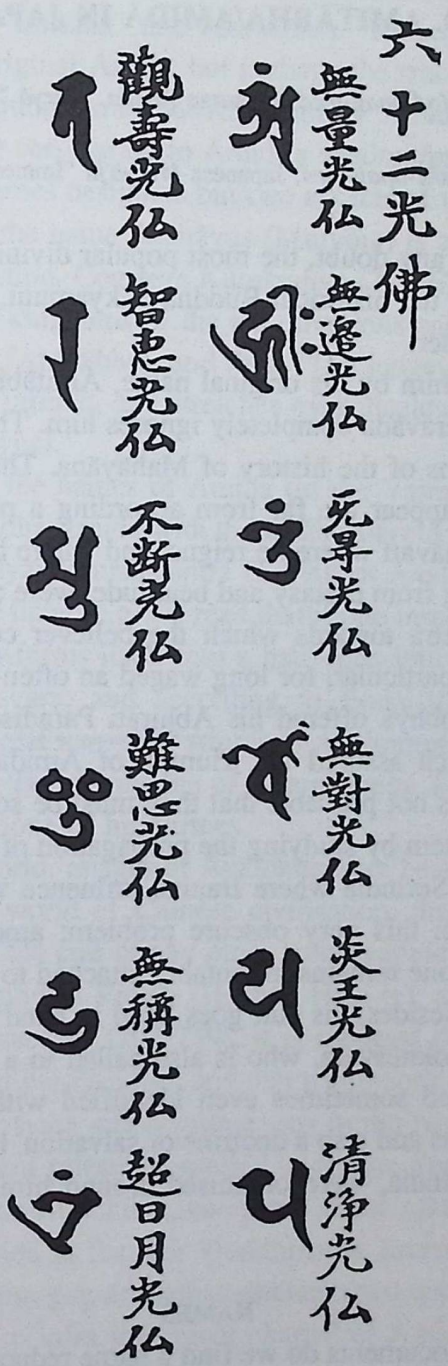
歡喜光佛　　智慧光佛



Bījas of the Twelve Light-Buddhas from the
Shuji-shū or "Collection of Bījas" by bhikṣu Chōzen (published in 1670).



Bījas of the Twelve Light-Buddhas from the
Shuji-shū or "Collection of Bījas" by bhikṣu Chōzen (published in 1670).



Second set of the bījas of the Twelve Light-Buddhas (Miyano 1968:2.24)

9. AMITĀBHA/AMIDA IN JAPAN

Skt. *Amitābha*, Tib. *Ḥod-dpag-med*, Japanese *Amida*, *Muryō* "Immeasurable," *Muryōkō* "Light Immeasurable."

Skt. *Amitāyus*, Tib. *Tshe-dpag-med*, Japanese *Muryōju* "Immeasurable Longevity."

Amida is, without any doubt, the most popular divinity in the Buddhist pantheon of Japan. He has eclipsed the historical Buddha Śākyamuni, in the whole domain of the Chinese and Japanese order.

Amida, or to call him by his original name, Amitābha or Amitāyus, is unknown in ancient Buddhism. Theravāda completely ignores him. The birth of this cult is one of the most obscure problems of the history of Mahāyāna. The great sūtras of this school where Amida begins to appear are far from according a privileged place to him. The Western Paradise of Sukhāvatī where he reigns, and where his faithful climb the path to Nirvāṇa without emerging from ecstasy and beatitude, were at first but one of the several Buddha-lands/Buddha-kṣetra towards which the believer could orient his posthumous destination. Maitreya, in particular, for long waged an often-victorious competition with his Tuṣita Paradise. Akṣobhya offered his Abhirati Paradise, though perhaps with less success. The factors which assured the triumph of Amida over his competitors, still remain indeterminate. It is not probable that they must be sought on Indian soil, there is more chance of finding them by studying the propagation of Buddhism outside India, on the intermediate zone of Serindia where Iranian influence was dominant. Our attention is caught by two facts in this very obscure problem: among all the Buddhas of the cardinal points, Amida alone remains immutably attached to a fixed direction: he always presides over the West. Besides, his cult goes hand in hand with that of another no less mysterious divinity, Avalokiteśvara, who is also called to a brilliant destiny, sometimes subordinate to Amida, and sometimes even identified with him. With the success of Amida, a system of Jātakas and also a doctrine of salvation, both of which appear to have been elaborated outside India, were organised around him, as it has been around the Buddha Śākyamuni.

NAMES

Nowhere in Skt. documents do we find a name reduced to the form Amita, which could correspond to the Chinese transcription Amida. The Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha in Sanskrit has Amitābha everywhere with the exception of Amitāyus once. In the Chinese

translations of Saṁghavarman (T 360) and of Lokakṣema (T 361), we find the terms *Muryō-kaku* "Immeasurable Buddha" and *Muryō-son* "Immeasurable Venerated One", which seem to rest on an original Amita; but perhaps the transcription Amida is but an abbreviation of the transcription Amidaba=Amitābha or Amidayushi=Amitāyus.

Amitābha is made to correspond to Amida's wisdom/prajñā and Amitāyus to his compassion/karuṇā: these names designate but two aspects of the same and unique character. In practice, however, the name Amitāyus (Muryōju) is almost exclusively used in the world of Chinese civilization. Compare Kumārajīva (T 366) "The immeasurable light of this Buddha lights up the kingdoms of the ten directions and nothing can stop it, that is why he is called Amida" (Amitābha); and ibid: "The longevity of this Buddha and of his people is immeasurable, infinite, and stretches over incalculable periods; that is why he is called Amida" (Amitāyus).

In Esoterism, one of the names of Amida (in the Vajradhātu) is Avalokiteśvara: this identification of the Buddha Amida with the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara is explained by esoteric texts like the Māyājāla-mahātantra (T 890) or Avalokiteśvara-caryā-kalpa of Amoghavajra (T 931). In the latter, e.g. we read that if one inspects the letter hrīḥ (which is Amida's bījākṣara), it transforms itself into a half-open lotus flower, which is in turn transformed into Avalokiteśvara; and according to Bodai-shin-gi of Annen (AD884 chapters ix-x), the "fundamental name" of Amida is Avalokiteśvararāja-tathāgata (this is the name he bears e.g. in the Tattvasaṅgraha of Amoghavajra T 865 ch.2), Amitābha and Amitāyus being but appellations of his virtues.

In all the Buddhist world, images of Avalokiteśvara bear a small image of Amida on their heads. Outside the world of Chinese civilisation, there is no evidence of the dominance of Amida and of his cult in any other iconographic or epigraphic document, or manuscript. In the biography of Enichi (Hechō, Huei-je), a monk who visited India in the beginning of the 8th century (702-719), it is reported that all the sages of India spoke to him of Amida and of his Paradise, and that revelations on the same subject were made to him by an Avalokiteśvara whose statue was to the North-East of the capital of Gandhara (Memoirs of eminent priests, compiled under the Sung dynasty T 2061 ch.29 and Tendai history of Chinese Buddhism, compiled about AD1269-71/T 2035 ch.27).

Another name of Amida in Esoteric Buddhism is Amṛta, so that the dhāraṇīs of Amṛta, as Śikṣānanda's Parimita-guṇ-ānuśaṁsā-dhāraṇī (two texts: T 1316 and 1317), are used for Amida. Compare also infra the "great charm" of Amida, called "Charm of the 12 Amṛtas".

Twelve names of Amitābha in Amoghavajra T 933 and T'an-luan (476-542) T 1978 are:

Muryōkō (Immeasurable Light)
Muhenkō (Unlimited Light)
Mugekō (Light without obstacle)
Mutaikō (Light without relation)
Ennōkō (Light of royal flame)
Shōjōkō (Pure Light)
Kangikō (Light of joy)
Chiekō (Light of Wisdom)
Fudankō (Uninterrupted Light)
Nanjikō (Light which is difficult to conceive of)
Mushōkō (Inexpressible Light)
Chōnichigakkō (Light surpassing that of the sun and the moon)

Thirteen names of Amida in Saṅghavarman's Sukhāvatīvyūha T 360: the preceeding ones, plus Muryōju (Amitāyus).

Thirty-seven names are given in Bukkyō-daijii 73.

AMIDA IN CONONICAL TEXTS

According to a famous word of Tannen (AD711-782, T 1912) Amida is the most frequently mentioned of all Buddhas in all the sūtras. Besides the sūtras, some śāstras (Vasubandhu's Sukhāvatīvyūhopadeśa T 1524) and other works specially consecrated to him, we find several documents on him in the Chinese Canon. A compilation of these references was made in Japan by Keijō (died AD1774) in Amida-butsu-setsu-rin. It cites more than 200 works, most of which come from Esoteric Buddhism. There are about 180 sūtras, 70 of which belong to exoteric Mahāyāna, beginning with the great sūtras of Avataṁsaka (T 279 ch.80), Nirvāṇa, Saddharma-puṇḍarīka, etc.; there are about 20 śāstras. Amida does not seem to figure in the texts of Prajñāpāramitā. His place is taken by Akṣobhya; his Paradise of the West (Sukhāvatī) is however, mentioned, in Hsüan-tsang's Mahāprajñāpāramitā (T 220).

We take the following quotations from two famous śāstras: T 1666 (Aśvaghoṣa, Mahāyāna-śraddh-otpāda-sūtra): Moreover, if beings beginning the study of this Essence seek the correct faith, but being feeble in spirit and living in this Sahā world, they fear they may never meet Buddhas and serve them personally; if they say to themselves, being

afraid, that the spirit of faith is difficult to attain and find themselves disposed to regression/*vivartanā*: let it be known, the Tathāgata has a superior means of capturing the spirit of faith: that is to say, by the factor of thinking of the Buddha with all one's spirit, one obtains birth, according to the vow one has formulated, in a Buddha-land situated "elsewhere", to see the Buddha there ceaselessly, and to leave the bad destinations/gati forever. It is as is said in the sūtra: If a man thinks of the Buddha Amida of the Paradise of the West with all his strength, and by the deflection/*pariṇāmanā* of the good roots of his practices, he formulates the vow to be born in this world, he would succeed in being born there. There he would ceaselessly see the Buddha and there would never be any regression/*vivartanā* for him. For, if he inspects the dharmakāya of Thusness of that Buddha there, and relentlessly applies himself to bhāvanā, he would finally succeed in being born in his Paradise, and in being stationed in the Correct Concentration.

Mahāprajñāpāramit-opadeśa of Nāgārjuna translated by Kumārajīva (T 1509 ch. 36): The Buddha Śākyamuni also has a pure land (Shōjōkokudo), such as the kingdom of the Buddha Amida, the Buddha Amida also has an impure kingdom, such as that of the Buddha Śākyamuni. Ibid. ch.9: There was once a mendicant monk who used to recite the sūtra of the Buddha Amida and the Mahāprajñāpāramitā. A little before his death, he told his disciples that the Buddha Amida with his great assembly had come; raising himself immediately, he took refuge in him and died. After his death, his disciples gathered faggots and cremated him. The next day his tongue was found in the ashes. It had not been consumed by the flames; because he had recited the sūtra of the Buddha Amida. He saw this Buddha coming at the time of his death, and because he had recited the Mahāprajñāpāramitā his tongue had not been consumed by the flames. These are facts of the present time. For another text of Nāgārjuna with a commentary by Vasubandhu, see below under the views of the Jōdo sect.

BIRTHS

The sūtras relating to Amida are divided into three categories, respectively dealing with his births/jāti, his dhāraṇī and the ecstasy/dhyāna of which he is the object. In the first of these categories is the Sukhāvatī-vyūha and its Chinese versions:

T360 Sukhāvatī-vyūha, transl. Saṅghavarman
T361 Sukhāvatī-vyūha, transl. Lokakṣema
T362 Sukhāvatī-vyūha, transl. Shi Ken
T363 Sukhāvatī-vyūha, transl. Hōken
T364 Sukhāvatī-vyūha, transl. O Nikkyū
T310/5 Sukhāvatī-vyūha, transl. Bodhiruci

They are fundamental scriptures of the Jōdo sect, or the sect of Amida. The Sukhāvatī-vyūha of Saṅghavarman (T360), together with the Amitāyur-buddh-ānusmṛti-sūtra translated by Kālayaśas, and the Sukhāvatī-[amṛta]-vyūha translated by Kumārajīva, are the Threefold Scriptures of the Jōdo sect or Jōdo sambukyō. There it is told how, from the time of the Buddha Lokeśvararāja, 53rd Buddha after Dīpaṁkara, a king conceived the Spirit of Enlightenment/bodhi-citta because he had listened to the sermons of this Buddha, abandoned his throne and became a monk under the name of Dharmākara (T362 Dommaka, T360 Hōzō, T361 Hōbōzō, T310/5 Hōsho, T363 Dharmǎkara/Sahō). On the prayer of this monk, the Buddha Lokeśvararāja exposed to him the good and the bad of the gods and of men and the merits and demerits of the different kingdoms in the 210 millions of Buddha-lands, which he causes him to see. The monk passed five periods of reflection (in order to make a choice, adds T310/5) and of appropriating the pure practices by which one can adorn a Buddha-land; then he presented himself once more before the same Buddha and took 48 vows, the principal of which is the 18th, formulated as follows in T360: "supposing I succeed in becoming Buddha, if the beings of the ten directions, believing in me and loving me with all their Spirit, desire to be born in my kingdom in the measure of ten thoughts, and if they do not do so, I shall not receive abhisambodhi/complete-correct-enlightenment; an exception is made only for those who are guilty of the five ānantarya or sins of immediate-damnation and of calumny against the correct Law". Then he accumulated the practices until his vows were realised and he became the perfect Buddha Amitāyus in his Western Paradise, where he reigns until ten yugas/periods are accomplished.

In other texts we find various references to births of Amida. The following eight sūtras are quoted in Amidakyō-shoshō by Shukō (AD1532-1612) in fascicule 3:

(1) T262 Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra transl. by Kumārajīva, ch.3 (=Lotus 113). The 9th of the 16 princes sons of the Buddha Mahābhijñājñānābhibhū (Daitsūchishō), the first of whom became Akṣobhya and the 16th Śākyamuni, became Amitābha.

(2) T157 Karuṇā-puṇḍarīka-sūtra transl. by Dharmakṣema II. King Araṇemi/ Mujōnen (without-thought-of-quarrel) who reigned in the world of Sandairan during the yuga/period Zenji/ Dhāraṇa became Amitāyus. He had a 1000 sons, the first of whom became Avalokiteśvara, the second Mahāsthāmaprāpta, the 9th Akṣobhya, etc.

(3) T275 Sarva-vaidalya-saṅgraha-sūtra transl. by Vinītaruci in AD582. In the time of the Buddha Mukuenshōkiō the monk Jōmyō (Pure-life) preached. It is he who is now Amida.

(4) T425 Bhadrakalpika-sūtra transl. by Dharmarakṣa, ch.1. In the time of the Tathāgata Meghasvara/Raionku (Roar-of-sound-of-thunder), Amida was a prince named Jōfukuhōshūon (Sound-of-the-retributions-of-pure-merit).

(5) Ibid. In the time of the Buddha Konryūketsukō (Golden-dragon-certitude-light), he was called the Master of Law Mugenryōhōon (Voice-of-infinite-jewel).

(6) T643 Buddh-ānusmṛti-samādhi-sāgara-sūtra transl. by Buddhabhadra, ch.9. The third of the four mendicant monks who venerated the Buddha Kūō/ Śūnyarāja? is actually Amida.

(7) T372 Māyopama-samādhi-sūtra transl. by Dānapāla, ch.2. In the time of the Buddha Shishi/Siṁha, Amida was a Bodhisattva called Shōi (Eminent-Majesty).

(8) T1017 Anantamukha-dhāraṇī transl. by Jñānagupta. He was a prince named Fashigishōkudoku (Inconceivable-and-eminent-merit).

Seven sūtras containing references to other births are quoted in Muryōjukyō-esho by Shuntai (AD1664-1721), fascicule 4:

(1) T425 Bhadrakalpika-sutra transl. by Dharmarakṣa. King Tokke under Tathāgata Shōjin.

(2) T310/18 Rāṣṭrapāla-paripṛcchā transl. by Jñānagupta. King Enni under Tathāgata Jōrie.

(3) T649 A dhyāna-sūtra transl. by Jñānagupta in AD595. Prince Fukuhōshōjō.

(4) T170 Guṇaprabha-kumāra-sūtra transl. by Dharmarakṣa in AD270. Prince Tokkō son of king Gakushimmu under Tathāgata Gikichi.

(5) T1340 Mahādharmolkā-dhāraṇī transl. by Jñānagupta in AD594, fascicule 17. Bodhisattva Myōsō, who raised stūpas after the nirvāṇa of the Tathāgata Sanjō.

(6) T831 Buddhākṣepaṇa, transl. by Bodhiruci during AD508-535. King Gattoku in the time of the master of the Law Benshaku/Pratibhānakūṭa, who was himself the future Akṣobhya, who preached dhāraṇīs after the nirvāṇa of the Tathāgata Kanjizai/Avalokiteśvara.

(7) T154 Jātaka-sūtra, transl. by Dharmarakṣa in AD285. Isen, disciple of Shudatsu, 16th Buddha of the past. T633 Tathāgata-jñāna-mudrā, quoted in Amida-ingyōki by Ekū (AD1644-1721): King Eki under Tathāgata Gakkitsu.

In several of the above-mentioned texts, Amida is associated with Akṣobhya/ Ashuku. Moreover, he is placed in relation to Maitreya in Adhyāśaya-saṁcodana transl.

by Jñānagupta T327=T310/25 (Maitreya-paripṛcchā, cf. BEFEO 24:240 n.7), where we see Maitreya asking Śākyamuni questions on the ten thoughts which assure access to Amida's Paradise.

VIEWS OF SECTS

Since Amida is mentioned in several sūtras which are recognised as authorities by the various sects, most of them have specific doctrines about him. Generally speaking, we distinguish two aspects of him, that of the Ideal Buddha (Ributsu) and that of the living personality preaching in the Western Paradise.

Hossō sect (cf. T1861, art. "Three Bodies" and T1757). Amida and the three Bodies of Buddha: (1) Svabhāva-kāya/Body of specific-nature (Dharma-kāya/Body of Essence). As svabhāva-kāya, Amida is pure ideal (yuiri) and is not differentiated from the other Buddhas. (2) Sambhoga-kāya/Body of Fruition for himself and Body of Fruition for others. It is under this latter aspect that Amida can be seen by the Bodhisattvas who have attained one of the ten Lands. By those of the 1st Land, he is seen on a lotus platform of 100 jewels: by those of the 2nd, on a lotus platform of 1000 jewels; by those of the 10th as a transformation of the knowledge without flow (anāsrava-jñāna-pariṇāmanā). (3) Nirmāṇa-kāya/Body of Metamorphosis. It is in this Body that Amida is seen by the lesser bodhisattvas in the lands, as also by the śrāvakas and Pratyeka-Buddhas. From this body also arises the Amida who has father and mother, like the one of the births, the Amida of T371 who enters nirvāṇa and who is succeded by Avalokiteśvara, etc.

Sanron sect. (1) As dharma-kāya or svabhāva-kāya, Amida is called Ideal Body. (2) As sambhoga-kāya/Body of Fruition for oneself, he is called jñāna-kāya/Body of Knowledge. These two Bodies are imperishable. (3) In nirmāṇa-kāya/Body of Metamorphosis, we distinguish two aspects: the Body of Fruition for others and the Body of Metamorphosis proper. It is in this Body that Amida shows himself in a mortal form in order to save beings. According to T1752, to the 1st of the three bodies corresponds the formula: "This Dharma-dhātu-kāya penetrates all beings", to the 2nd, the formula: "This citta/Spirit becomes Buddha"; and the 3rd, corresponds to Amida who resides in the Paradise of the West.

Kegon sect. In the works of this sect we find some articles on the world of Amida. Thus according to Kegon-kumokushō by Chigon (AD602-668, T1870.iv art. "Rebirth"), this world has two aspects: (1) As world of Ekayāna, it belongs to the "Sea of the Ornamented World Deposed in the Lotus" (Rengezō shō gonsekaikai); as master of his world in this aspect, Amida is identical with Vairocana. (2) As world of the triple vehicle

(of Śrāvaka, Pratyekabuddha, and Bodhisattva), it is the Paradise of the West, where Amida resides in his sambhoga-kāya/Body of Fruition.

Tendai sect. This sect distinguishes three bodies of Buddha and four sorts of Lands (do). According to Yuimakyō-ryakusho by Chigi T1778, Amida arises from the nirmāṇa-kāya/Body of Correspondence (=Body of Metamorphosis) and his Paradise of Land of Correspondence (=Land of Metamorphosis); in fact, this Paradise is a land where the śrāvakas and pratyekabuddhas are born; they eat there, walk there, days follow nights, and there Amida preaches the law of the triple vehicle. However, as the object of vipaśyanā/inspection (especially of the 9th of the 16 inspections of Amitāyur-buddhānusmṛti-sūtra transl. by Kālayaśas, T365), Amida is conceived of as sambhoga-kāya; according to Chi-li's commentary on the Amitāyur-dhyāna-sūtra T1751 e.g., as sambhoga-kāya for others. One of the great Japanese scholars of this sect, Genshin the author of Amida-kanjin-shū (AD942-1018), attempted to combine an esoteric interpretation of Amida's name with the Tendai doctrine: "A is the void; Mi is the Fictional; Da is the Middle, the dharma-kāya. The name of Amida can be given to all beings of the ten directions: Amida as dharma-kāya, is the Tathāgata of the original enlightenment, and consequently the Spirit of Term (of each being); Amida as sambhoga-kāya for oneself and for others is (our) body of form, which produces the causes and experiences the effects, Amida as nirmāṇa-kāya is the Buddha Amida of the Paradise. By meditating on A, one destroys the error of sight and by this cause one produces the sambhoga-kāya; by meditating on Mi, one destroys the error of passions and by this cause one produces the nirmāṇa-kāya; by meditating on Da, one destroys the error of ignorance and one produces by this cause the dharma-kāya".

Zen sect. This sect recognises no Buddha other than the spirit of the individual: what they call Amida is the nature of Buddha innate to each man. Amida is myself, his paradise is my spirit, my aim is not to be born in a paradise after my death, but to realise Amida is my present body and to make the paradise appear in this world itself. In practice, however, one often finds images of Amida in temples of the sect; he is represented in the same way as he is in the Jōdo sect.

Jōdo sect. The sects said to be of a Pure Land (Jōdo-mon), characterised by the belief in a Paradise like that of Amida, of Akṣobhya or of Maitreya, are placed in opposition to all the other Buddhist sects (called Shōdōmon, i.e. sects of the Saintly Path). Nāgārjuna, the second patriarch (after Aśvaghoṣa), of the Jōdo sect of Amida, in fact distinguishes, in the chap. of his Daśabhūmika-vibhāṣā T1521 titled "The easy practice", two methods of salvation: "It is like the paths of this world, some easy and some difficult:

to walk by the path of the earth is painful, to navigate by the path of water is pleasant. It is the same with the paths of the Bodhisattva: some zealously practise the vīrya/good-will; but others, by the easy practice of the Means of the Faith, rapidly reach the avaivartika/Non-Regression". This Means of the Faith consists in thinking, while invoking their names, of the Buddhas of the ten directions, of Amida and of all the other Buddhas (the fundamental vow of Amida being quoted, and 32 stanzas called Hymn to Amida, Amidasan, relating exclusively to him), as also of the many Bodhisattvas (whose names are to be found in the Sanskrit text of the Sukhāvatīvyūha). Nāgārjuna considers Amida as a simple saviour, an object of faith. Similarly Vasubandhu, third patriarch of the sect, whose work Sukhāvatīvyūh-opadeśa (T1524, commentary to T1521) opens with this celebrated stanza addressed to the Buddha Amida: "Bhagavat ! with all my spirit I take refuge in you, Tathāgata whose light without obstacle penetrates the ten directions, and desire to be born in your paradise !" It is in the fourth patriarch, Donran (T1819, comm. to T1524), that a more philosophical conception of Amida appears. He distinguishes two bodies: dharma-kāya of the Nature of Essence and dharma-kāya of Means, which are identical from the larger point of view (kosonyu), but different from a more narrow point of view, in details (ryakusonyu); they form but one whole, they are both dharma-kāya, for a dharma-kāya is without character and for this very reason has all characters. Doshaku the fifth patriarch (T1958), and Zendo the sixth (T1753) see in Amida a sambhoga-kāya, as opposed to some authors from adverse sects who only wanted to see a nirmāṇa-kāya in him. It is also as sambhoga-kāya that he is conceived of by most of the Japanese schools of the sect (save by the syncretic school Yuzu-nembutsu which conceives of him as dharma-kāya). In the Shin school, Shinran (1173-1262) distinguishes, following Donran, two Bodies which he defines thus in his Yuishinshōmon-i: "The dharma-kāya of the Nature of Essence has neither colour nor form; therefore one can neither conceive of it nor speak of it. So long as it manifests its form outside the unique Thusness it is called the dharma-kāya of Means. Amida took the form of the mendicant monk Dharmākara and formulated 48 great vows: he manifests himself in consequence of his fundamental vow of immeasurable light and longevity (as Amitābha and Amitāyus)... In so far as he is a fruit of the causal act of his vow, he is called sambhoga-kāya; for Fruition signifies the fruit of a cause. Besides this sambhoga-kāya, he manifests nirmāṇa-kāya, and spreads without obstacle the light of Wisdom in the worlds which are as innumerable as the atoms".

ESOTERISM

Names. Muryōju-nyorai (Amitāyus-tathāgata) or Kanjizai-ō-nyorai (Avalokiteśvara-rāja-tathāgata) in the Vajradhātu; Amida-nyorai (Amita-tathāgata) in the Garbhadhātu.

Esoteric name. Shōjōkongō (Diamond of purity) in the two maṇḍalas (or also Daihi-kongō, Diamond of great compassion).

Nature. From the point of view of Equality (samatā), all the Buddhas being Equal, Amida is no other than Vairocana who posseses the five knowledges. From the point of view of the Diversified (viśiṣṭa), his specific virtue is the knowledge of perspicacity (myōkanzacchi, Skt. pratyavekṣaṇā-jñāna), one of the five knowledges of Vairocana, whose role is to lead beings to Enlightenment by cutting through the doubts relating to the sermons of all the Buddhas. In the system of the Five Revolutions (parāvṛtti), he presides either at the entry into Nirvāṇa or at the attestation (sākṣātkāra) of Enlightenment.

Localisation. In the Vajradhātu he is placed in the West Wheel of the 5 Wheels of Liberation of the Assembly of Act, behind Vairocana, and surrounded by the Four Bodhisattva's Essence of Diamond (in front). Benefit of Diamond (left). Cause of Diamond (right) and Word of Diamond (behind), who represent his four Virtues: to give the Essence to Beings, to serve them, to preach because of them, and to speak to them. In the Garbhadhātu he resides on the Western petal of the Court of Eight Petals of the central platform, in front of Vairocana. He is the only one of the four great Buddhas of the directions whose cardinal situation (West) and name (Amida) stay the same in both maṇḍalas.

Bījākṣaras/Seeds vary in documents: T865 *hrīḥ*, T867 *hūṁ*, T848 *a* or *amita*, T973 *vaṁ*, etc, each of these seeds having its special interpretation. But according to the currently admitted tradition, his seeds are *hrīḥ* in Vajradhātu and *aṁ* in Garbhadhātu. The seed *hrīḥ* is common to Amida and to the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara; according to T868 he symbolises immaculate purity, it is also the seed of the lotus, the samaya form of Amida. *Aṁ*, 3rd Revolution of the *a*, has the attestation of Enlightenment as Character; *a* added: *sa*, which is the Seed specific to Avalokiteśvara, it forms the group *saṁ*, which is given as another seed of Amida in Garbhadhātu, and represents Amida identified with the character of Fruit of Enlightenment of Avalokiteśvara (Avalokiteśvara *sa* Enlightenment *aṁ*=Amida *saṁ*).

Formulas. Uniletter: *a* (Amoghapāśa-kalparāja transl. by Bodhiruci T1092 xx: Oṁ a svāhā), *hrīḥ* (T1003). Vajradhātu: *Oṁ lokiteśvararāja*, Garbhadhātu: *Namaḥ*

samantabuddhānāṁ saṁ saḥ. Short dhāraṇī (shōju, also called Dhāraṇī of Spirit, Formula of Spirit of the Tathāgata Amitāyus): *oṁ amṛtatejekara hūṁ* (Amoghavajra T930). Longer dhāraṇī (daiju, also called Dhāraṇī of the ten Amṛtas, fundamental dhāraṇī of Amida): *Namo ratnatrayāya namo āryāmitābhāya tathāgatāyārhate samyak-sambuddhāya tadyathā oṁ amṛte amṛtodbhave amṛta-sambhave amṛta-garbhe amṛta-siddhe amṛta-teje amṛta-vikrānte amṛta-vikrānta-gāmini amṛta-gagana-kīrtikare amṛta-dundubhi-svare sarvārtha-sādhani sarva-karma-kleśa-kṣayaṅkare svāhā* (T930).

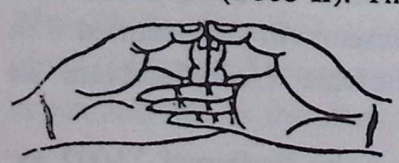
Conventional Form. Lotus in bloom in Vajradhātu, half-open in Garbhadhātu. According to another tradition, stūpa and jewel.

Rituals. *Amidahō*, esoteric ceremony used for effacing sins, assuring birth in Paradise and achieving happiness for the dead; Amida in his maṇḍala (Amida-mandara) is represented at the centre of the platform. Celebrated in Japan since the Fujiwara epoch (11th century).

Amida-mandara, Amidahō's maṇḍala. There are several varieties, the most common of which is Kuhom-mandara, maṇḍala of the nine classes: the Amidas of the nine classes are represented, surrounded by the four Bodhisattvas of the Vajradhātu, by the twelve Buddhas of light (personifying the twelve names of Amitābha as detailed above) and by the 25 Bodhisattvas [about whom cf. Bukkyō-bijutsu-kōwa, by Ono Gemmyō 545-548]. It might have been introduced from China by Eun in 847. Compare Bukkyō-bijutsu-kōwa, by Ono Gemmyō 449-552 and fig. CLXI: also Toganoo Shōun, Mandara no kenkyū 356-357. *Amidagoma*, homa/libation to Amida performed before the Amidahō.

Mudrās. Traditions and documents confused. Generally speaking, we can distinguish two principal mudrās:

(1) dhyāna-mudrā/mudrā of concentration (jōin): the two hands rest before the navel, the right on the left, the palms turned upwards, the two indexes bent back to back forming circles with the thumbs (cf. Taizōkai-mandara-[dai]-shō by Shinnichi [died 1307] I, Zu-in-shū I). This mudrā is also called Amidajōin, Myōkanzacchiin, Saishōsammaiin, Rengebujōin, or even Shiyuiin (T848 and commentary T1796), Jūsammajiin (T1067), Josanranshin-in (T868 II). This is the mudrā of Amida in the maṇḍalas and in most of the seated statues. It is also the mudrā of the first of the nine Amidas of the nine classes (cf. below Kuhon Amida). Sometimes the indexes are not raised and the mudrā consists of only one circle, closed by the thumbs, and not two



Dhyāna-mudra or Mudrā of concentration, of Amida

(2) In the second mudrā, as in the first, if it contains two circles, the thumb and the index (or another finger) of each hand form a circle, but the right hand is raised before the shoulder and the left lowered before the knee, the two palms being turned towards the front. According to Tetsugaku-daijisho this mudrā is called Hosshinseppōin or Mushofushiin. This is the mudrā of the 3rd of the nine Amidas of the nine classes (cf. Kuhon Amida). It is frequent in the standing statues of Amida, notably in the Jodo, Shin, Tendai and other sects. The right hand which is rising indicates the search for Enlightenment, and its five fingers represent the worlds of the śrāvakas, of the pratyeka-buddhas, of the Bodhisattvas, of the exoteric Buddhas and of the esoteric Buddhas. The left hand which is lowered symbolises the conversion of Beings, its five fingers representing the worlds of men, of gods, of the dead, of animals, and of beings of hell.

Tembōrin mudrā
(fresco of Horyuji)

We find many other mudrās in ancient images of Amida, prior to the introduction of the Shingon sect in Japan. One of the most frequent is the mudrā of turning the wheel of the Law (tembōrin-in), which appears in a famous fresco of Horyuji and in several images from the Nara epoch. Cf. Naitō Tsichiro, Butsuzō-tsūkai 1927:143; Ono Gemmyō, Bukkyō-bijutsu-kōwa 1927:540.

ICONOGRAPHY

A form of Amida with three faces and six arms is described in T890 II: the head bears a coiffure of jewels; each face has three eyes; the two upper hands bear lotuses in bloom, the right middle hand bears the Prajñāpāramitāsūtra and the left hand the vajra, the lower right hand bears the rosary and the left the kuṇḍī vase. But this form is rarely represented. Amida is generally depicted as a normal human being, either with a coiffure of jewels (e.g. in his aspect of Character of Fruit of Avalokiteśvara), or without hair in the aspect of the mendicant monk Dharmākara, or with hair "in the form of a conch" (rahotsu). This last variety is by far the most frequent especially in the twin maṇḍalas, where Amida appears seated on a lotus seat (symbolising the purity implied in his esoteric name), his face golden (colour of autunm, to which the West corresponds, gold also symbolising plenitude and indestructibility), and accomplishing the mudrā of concentration.

Amitābha in the Vajradhātu

In the exoteric tradition the most frequent mudrā is the second one described above but the first is also to be found, especially in seated statues.

Kannonsho¯tai Amida, Amida on Avalokiteśvara's head. Texts: Amitāyur-buddh-ānusmṛti-sūtra transl. by Kālayaśas T365 in the divine coiffure of Avalokiteśvara is a nirmāṇakāya Buddha who is 25 leagues tall. Mahāvairocana-sūtra T848 ch.1: In his chignon appears Amitāyus.

[*Amida-sanzon,* Amida Triad. Amida flanked by Avalokiteśvara to the left and Mahāsthāmaprāpta to the right. Generally, Amida is seated; his acolytes are always standing. In Japan, it is in this form that Amida is represented in the Jodo sect, whereas in the Shin sect he is represented alone and standing.] Texts: In Karuṇā-puṇḍarīka-sūtra T157 II, the two elder sons of the king Araṇemi, Amitāyus of the future, become Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta. Amitāyur-buddh-ānusmṛti-sūtra transl. by Kālayaśas T365, 7th Inspection: The Buddha Amitāyus stopped erect in the air: Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta, these two mahāsattvas flanked him, standing, to the left and to the right. Ibid. 8th Inspection: In order to picture this Buddha (Amitāyus) to oneself, one must first imagine his image as golden jambūnada, seated on a lotus flower... then make a big lotus flower to his left... and one to his right... and imagine an image of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara seated on the flower to the left... and the Bodhisattva Mahāsthāmaprāpta on the one to the right... Cf. also Māyopama-samādhi-sūtra T371, etc.

[*Amida-goson,* Amida pentad: Amida flanked by Avalokiteśvara Mahāsthāma-prāpta and two others identified by Japanese tradition as Kṣitigarbha and Nāgārjuna (second patriarch of the Jodo sect): group called the "five saints" (goshō).] No cononical text. According to tradition, this group was an object of faith in China; it was believed to appear to those about to die. Mentioned in Japanese sources since the epoch of Heian (Kakuzenshō of Kakuzen of the 12th century; cf. also Ono Gemmyō, Bukkyō-bijutsu-kōwa 1927:538).

Kuhon Amida, the Amidas of the Nine Classes, the hypostases of Amida corresponding to each of the nine classes among which Beings are divided with respect to his Paradise. Each of these hypostases has its specific seed and mudrā. cf. Bukkyōdaiji 1914:875 and Butsuzōzui II, which depict these mudrās though without the guarantee of an ancient iconographic tradition. On the nine classes, cf. Amitāyur-buddh-ānusmṛti-sūtra T365, and BEFEO 24.236. On all questions concerning Amida, one can fruitfully consult the rich materials gathered in Yabuki Keiki, Amidabutsu no kenkyū, 1911.

Maṇḍala of the nine classes of Amida

(This article has been adapted from the encyclopaedia Hōbōgirin, Tokyo 1929:24-30).

10. NOTES ON CENTRAL ASIAN BUDDHIST ICONOGRAPHY

The exhibition of the treasures of Central Asian art from the West Berlin State Museum held at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York has awakened fresh interest in understanding this important phase of Buddhist art. Several items call for more precise identification.

1. ŚIVA

A head from Khocho, dated to the 7th century, evidences Indo-Iranian work. It is identified as 'the head of a devatā'. It has half-open eyes, with a 'dreamy look': this is a yoga posture of intense meditation in which the eyes are concentrated on the tip of the nose. The shallow incision between the eyebrows represents the third eye. The hairdo has the centre parting "while the rest of the hair is swept up in tresses that disappear under a lozenge-patterned chaplet" (AASR 1982:158 no. 96). This hairstyle is associated with Śiva: "the hair parted in the center and then swept up on the sides into a topknot is found on other Śiva heads" of the eighth century from Afghanistan. A marble face from Afghanistan is illustrated in Deborah (1982:101 pl. 22). It is remarkably identical with the Khocho head, which in all probability represents Śiva.

Two painted clay heads from the Cave of the Statues, Kizil (AASR 1982:70-72 nos. 11, 12) are dated to the sixth century and have the third eye painted on the forehead. They were made from moulds. A great number of stucco moulds have survived and bear Sanskrit names of craftsmen on the reverse. Both have been identified as "head of a bodhisattva". The crown is similar to the aforesaid Khocho head. The style of the crown and the third eye confirm it as a representation of Śiva.

2. NĪLAKAṆṬHA AVALOKITEŚVARA

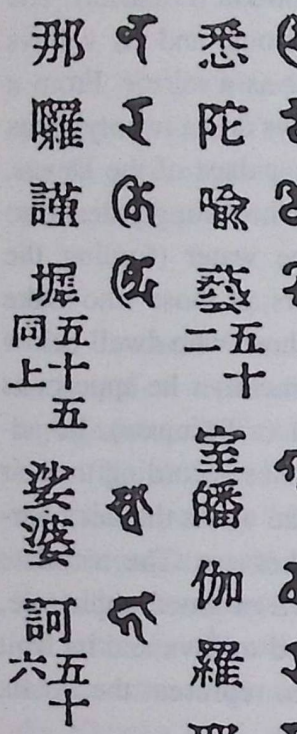
A fragment of a wall-painting was found in the rubble of Temple 9 at Bezeklik (lit. "place of paintings"). It has been identified as the head of a brahmin "with long strands of hair, apparently wind-blown, the thick beard... This fragment, unlike most of the other paintings found at the site, shows the influence of the Indian school" (AASR 1982:147 no. 81). The identification follows Le Coq (1913: pl. 39d). The third eye between the eyebrows raises new possibilities. The Bezeklik monastic complexes were situated on high cliffs on the right bank of the Sengim River. Winding paths lead to the top of the cliff where several hundred temples have been preserved. These geographic features recall the description of Mount Potalaka of Avalokiteśvara in Hsüan-tsang (Beal

1884:2.233): "To the east of the Malaya mountains is Mount Po-ta-lo-kia (Potalaka). The passes of this mountain are very dangerous; its sides are precipitous, and its valleys rugged. On the top of the mountain is a lake; its waters are clear as a mirror. From a hollow proceeds a great river which encircles the mountain as it flows down twenty times and then enters the southern sea. By the side of the lake is a rock-palace of the Devas. Here Avalokiteśvara in coming and going takes his abode. Those who strongly desire to see this Bodhisattva do not regard their lives, but, crossing the water (fording the streams), climb the mountain, forgetful of its difficulties and dangers; of those who make the attempt there are very few who reach the summit. But even of those who dwell below the mountain, if they earnestly pray and beg to behold the god, sometimes he appears as Tsz'-tsai-t'ien (Īśvara-deva), sometimes under the form of a yogī (a Pāśupata); he addresses them with benevolent words and then they obtain their wishes according to their desires". The hair of the Bezeklik head are in typical ascetic style, he wears the thick ear-rings of a yogin, and has the third eye on the forehead like Maheśvara. The trifoliate ornament around the ear-rings symbolises the trifoliate leaf of *bilva* or wood-apple tree, *Aegle marmelos*. This tree is sacred to Śiva: its leaves are dedicated to Śiva and its fruit is the *avyakta* form of Śiva (Liebert 1976:43). The mural seems to represent the Potala Avalokiteśvara.

Avalokiteśvara appears as the metamorphosis of Śiva the great yogin in the Nīlakaṇṭha-sūtra. There are eight translations of this text into Chinese:

A.D.	translator	K	T	Nj
624-649	Chih-t'ung	K 292	T 1057b	Nj 318
650-661	Bhagavaddharma	K 294	T 1060	Nj 320
709	Bodhiruci	K 293	T 1058	Nj 319
731-736	Vajrabodhi	K 1270	T 1061	–
–	,,	–	T 1112	–
723-	Amoghavajra	–	T 1111	–
723-	,,	–	T 1113b	–
14th cent.	Dhyānabhadra	–	T 1113a	–

Bhagavadharma translated the sūtra at Khotan, as we are informed by the colophon of its Chinese scroll from Tun-huang (Stein 3793 at the British Library). Thus the Nīlakaṇṭha Avalokiteśvara was popular at Khotan in the first half of the seventh century. Twelve scrolls have been found at Tun-huang (Giles 1957:105-106) which indicate his vogue here.



The version of Amoghavajra is most popular in China, Japan and Korea to this day. It is a Chinese transliteration of the lost Sanskrit text. It speaks of Nīlakaṇṭha as the ascetic (siddha), the great ascetic (mahāsiddha), the lord of ascetic yogins (siddha-yogīśvara): *siddhāya svāhā/ mahā-siddhāya svāhā/ siddha-yogīśvarāya svāhā/ Nīlakaṇṭhāya svāhā/* (Lokesh Chandra 1979). The Bezeklik head is a remarkable portrayal of a great ascetic yogin.

The version of Chih-t'ung is the earliest and fuller than the vulgate version of Amoghavajra. Chih-t'ung's version invokes Nīlakaṇṭha with additional epithets, like: *kṛṣna-jaṭā mukuṭa e* 'oh one with a diadem of black matted locks', and as unique in the fury of his laughter (*aṭṭahāsa*). The Bezeklik head seems agitated, as if taking part in a discussion.... the slightly opened mouth in which a few teeth are visible all strengthen the impression of a heated argument" (AASR 1982:147). This posture represents the *aṭṭahāsa*, or furious laughter of Nīlakaṇṭha. The Bezeklik head in all likelihood is Nīlakaṇṭha Avalokiteśvara as the great ascetic yogin, the mahā-siddha-yogīśvara.

3.VASIṢṬHA AND ARUNDHATĪ

Fragment of a mural painting from the Second Domed Cave, Kumtura has been identified broadly as a brahmin. The painting belongs to the early Indian-influenced phase, dated around AD500. He has the typical dress of an ascetic and holds a flask (kamaṇḍalu) in his right hand. Behind him is a devatā, to which a rosary of beads appears

to have been added later (AASR 1982:80 no. 18). This seems to be a representation of Vasiṣṭha followed by Arundhatī. Vasiṣṭha is the owner of the wish-fulfilling cow Kāmadhenu and the leader of brahmarṣis: as such his attribute is the kamaṇḍalu, the gourd jar of ascetics with a narrow neck. Arundhaṭī is renowned for her faithfulness to her husband Vasiṣṭha. She is the inseparable consort of the Sage. When a ṛṣi is accompanied by his spouse, they are most likely to be Vasiṣṭha and Arundhatī. The question arises: does the couple occur in Buddhist art? Vasiṣṭha and Arundhatī are in fact depicted in the Sino-Japanese Garbhadhātu maṇḍala. They are represented together (Esot. 206, 207) in the external quarter of vajras, wherein deities of the Hindu pantheon are shown. They head the deities in the East, followed by the Sun (Sūrya), Ketu, Mithuna, Vṛṣa, Meṣa and so on. Arundhatī is a personification of the morning star, which precedes sunrise, and thus she naturally comes before Sūrya in the maṇḍala. Their Sino-Japanese names are Basu-sen (Vasu ṛṣi) and Basusen-kō (the consort *kō* of Vasu ṛṣi). Vasiṣṭha has a bloomed lotus in the right hand while his left turns a rosary. Arundhatī holds a leaf and bud of a lotus in her right and a lotus flower in the left hand. The Sino-Japanese maṇḍala can be dated to the eighth century. It is based on the Mahāvairocana-sūtra, which was translated into Chinese by Śubhākarasiṁha and I-hsing in AD725.

4. TUKHĀRA MELODY

A divine musician was painted on the walls of the Prayer-Wheel Cave at Kizil, dated around AD600-650 (AASR 1982:93 no. 29). Chinese records mention the introduction of melodies and musical instruments from Kucha since 138 BC to the eighth century

AD(Liu Mau-tsai 1969:99-108). Among the instruments from Kucha was the four-stringed lute. It can be seen in the hands of Sarasvatī in the Sino-Japanese Garbhadhātu maṇḍala (Esot. 331). Sujīva, a member of the royal house of Kucha, came to China in AD568 and introduced the seven keys of Kucha music: sādhārita, kaiśika, ṣaḍja, ṣaḍja-grāma, ṣāḍava, pañcama, vṛṣabha.

Chang Ch'ien brought back musical instruments and melodies from India to the Chinese capital Ch'ang-an in 138 BC "Only the name of these melodies has come down to us: it is *Mo-ho-tou-le*. *Mo-ho* is clearly the Chinese transcription of *mahā* (great). As far as *tou-le* is concerned, the last word still remains to be spoken; it is perhaps a variant of Tou-k'u-le, or Tokhara. The name of this melody suggests an Indian origin. Possibly this originally Indian melody was first known at Kucha where, as we know, Tocharian was spoken in later days. It was the center of Indian-influenced music in Central Asia, which later spread to China. At that early date Kucha must already have been under Indian cultural influence. In China, a son-in-law of Emperor Wu-ti (140-87 BC) wrote twenty-eight new tunes based on the Mo-ho-tou-le melody, which were played as military music" (translation of Liu Mau-tsai 1969:100 in AASR 1982:93). We do not find any Tukhara melody in Sanskrit texts, except Turuṣka-Gauḍa rāga in Saṅgīta-ratnākara 3.383, or Turuṣka-Toḍī rāga in Rāga-vibodha of Somanātha 247. It is a strange coincidence of a historic leap that the Rāg Tukhārī should occur in the Guru Granth of the Sikhs (pages 1107-17). In the Tukhārī rāg (or *chant* =Skt. *chandas*), the first piece is the *Bārah māhā* 'twelve months' by Guru Nanakdev, the second by the fourth Guru Ramdas (p.1113), and the third and last piece by the fifth Guru Arjundev. This confirms that the Chinese transcription of the melody Mo-ho-tou-le is indeed Mahā-Tukhāra.

5. DIṄNĀGA

The silk-painting of an 'Angry Arhat' was found by the Third German Expedition at the lower end of the Cave of Eightyfour Siddhas on the foothills near Turfan. It has been dated to the 8-9th century. The figure represented is not an 'Angry Arhat' but Diṅnāga, the celebrated master of Buddhist logic. He is in a violent mudrā of disputation, vanquishing the heretics. A similar Tibetan painting can be seen in the Prof. RaghuVira Collection at the International Academy of Indian Culture. Diṅnāga is one of the Six Jewels (Tib. *rgyan drug*) of Mahāyāna in the Tibetan tradition. The 84 Siddhas as well as the Six Jewels are well-established in Tibetan iconography. The fact that the painting was recovered from the Cave of 84 Siddhas lends support to its identification as that of Diṅnāga. If so, it would be the earliest representation of Diṅnāga in a militant

mudrā: at Nalanda he had defeated Brāhmaṇa Sudurjaya (lit. invincible) and other Tīrtha dialecticians. Since he refuted the Tīrthikas, he was called a 'Fighting Bull in Discussion'. "His whole life was passed in giving blows and receiving counterblows... Kālidāsa, the prince of poets warns in his poem to avoid the 'rugged hand' (*sthūla-hasta*) of Dignāga. ...Mallinātha compares him with a 'rock' (*adri-kalpa*)" (Vidyabhusana 1920:273). The Buddhists were conscious of the awe-inspiring power of their knowledge. Their belligerent attitude against the heretics was expressed in violent terms, for example, in the Ratu Boko inscription of AD792/3: "I pay homage to Him who is the fire of noble Dharma, who shines forth quashing the prevailing beliefs of outstanding heretics, struck by whose majesty the heretics strong like bulls panic away in fright, who in an instant reduces to ashes the numerous attachments to heresy and who burns out all bondages" (Lokesh Chandra 1980:7).

6. TIERED STŪPA WITH NICHES

A free-standing tiered stūpa, designated Temple Y, was found at Khocho (AASR 1982:55 fig.II. 3). It rests on a square base, with three stepped tiers, topped by a structure now lost. Each tier contains niches for statues on four sides. A staircase led to the top to conduct services, where the main image must have been installed. The main image should have been facing the east, and so also the staircase. The three tiers can represent the cosmology of Triloka, the three worlds of kāmadhātu, rūpadhātu and arūpadhātu (Matsunaga 1969:43-56). These three realms are represented on the original lotus pedestal of the Great Buddha of the Tōdaiji Monastery (Paine & Soper 1955:23).

It is interesting that similar niched stūpa-like structures continued to be constructed by kings of Central Asian extraction centuries after they had been converted to Islam, when their meaning, function and symbolism had ceased to be relevant. In New Delhi, the Chor Minar has niches exactly like those of the Temple Y. It rests on a square platform, with one tier of niches topped by a tapering stele. There are three niches each in the south, west and north, on level to them there are two niches in the east, while the third niche of the east is on a higher storey, approached by a staircase. This upraised niche faces the rising sun. The morphology of the structure is strongly reminiscent of the Buddhist architecture of Central Asia. In its original function the twelve niches could have enshrined the Twelve Ādityas, in which the upraised first of them in the east could have had the main image, consecrated daily by the first rays of the rising sun. The Sun is an emblem of royalty and the cosmic symbol of its stability. The main niche could be reached by stairs, which were essential for the daily services of the Image.

Cunningham (1883:149-150) says of the Chor Minar: "At 8 feet there is a belt of moulding all round, above which at regular intervals there are nine rows of round holes, about 9 or 10 inches in diameter. In each row there are twenty-five holes, so that there still remian 225 holes for the reception of as many human heads. Three more rows of holes would have raised the number to 300, and the height of the tower to 41 feet above the terrace. ...That the tower was intended for the reception of human heads, which was further confirmed by the discovery of something like human hair still sticking to the mortar in one of the holes. ...When thieves were executed, their heads were cut off and stuck into these holes, where they could be seen by all the people. The women also pointed to the Kos-Minar close to the roadside, and said that all the travellers along the road could see the heads".

"I have read the numerous executions of dakaits and robbers whose heads were thus exposed, but, as well as I can remember, the numbers never exceeded 30 or 40 in a single gang. On the other hand, the recorded numbers of heads of prisoners taken in war usually ran up to many thousands. ...Similar towers were erected by Firoz Tughlak in Bengal amounting to the incredible number of 180,000 heads". Babar won a decisive victory over the Rajput clans in 1527: "As a final disgrace a tower of the rajas' severed heads was built on the hill and Babur became Ghazi, Avenger in the name of God" (Godden 1980:40, illus. on p.41).

It seems that during its triumphant march across Buddhist Central Asia, Islam stuck the heads of Buddhist monks on the renowned and sacrosanct stūpas. Due to the height of the stūpas, these severed heads were visible from long distances and they struck terror in the hearts of the vanquished. They became the might of the new order, foreboding dread against transgression and preempting reversion. The historic Buddhist form survived with new political functions in the Islamic period which we witness, *inter alia,* in the Chor Minar.

11. THE STRUCTURE OF THE GARBHADHĀTU MAṆḌALA

In the July of AD 805, the young monk Kūkai left his homeland Japan for China aboard an imperial ship. After spending several months on a stormy sea, he arrived at Ch'ang-an in late December, in quest of a new spiritual energy that found expression in gigantic paintings of the two maṇḍalas of Garbhadhātu and Vajradhātu.

These two maṇḍalas have become an integral heritage of Japanese culture. They are well-known as *ryōbu mandara*. They are a pair because both of them have Mahāvairocana in the centre. The two maṇḍalas are differentiated as the Garbhadhātu and Vajradhātu maṇḍalas. The Garbhadhātu maṇḍala is based on the Mahāvairocana-sūtra which belongs to the caryā division of tantras. The Vajradhātu derives from the Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha which pertains to the yoga division of tantras.

Here we take up the structure of the first maṇḍala (Tajima 1959:55) which is designated by four names: Garbha-maṇḍala, Garbhadharma-maṇḍala, Mahākaruṇā-garbha-maṇḍala, Mahākaruṇā-garbh-odbhava-maṇḍala.

The basic text of this maṇḍala is the Mahāvairocana-sūtra whose full title is: Mahāvairocan-ābhisambodhi-vikurvit-ādhiṣṭhāna-vaipulya-sutrendra-rāja (Sanskrit title transliterated in the Tibetan version), Daibirushana-jōbutsu-jimben-kaji-kyō in Japanese, Ta-p'i-lu-che-na ch'eng-fo shen-pien chia-ch'ih ching in Chinese, Rnam-par-snaṅ-mdzad-chen-po mṅon-par-rdzogs-par-byaṅ-chub-pa rnam-par-sprul-pa byin-gyis-rlob-pa śin-tu-rgyas-pa mdo-sdeḥi-dbaṅ-poḥi-rgyal-po in Tibetan (K 427, Nj 530, T 848). It was translated into Chinese by Śubhākarasiṁha and I-hsing in AD 725 (K 427). The full title is significant in that it is termed a vaipulya sūtra. The vaipulya sūtras have specific characteristics. Let us take the Lotus sūtra as an example of a vaipulya sūtra (Katō 1975:31). The introductory chapter begins: "Thus have I heard. Once the Buddha was staying at the city of Royal Palaces on Mount Gṛdhrakūṭa with a great assemblage.... At that time the World-honoured One, surrounded, worshipped, revered, honoured, and extolled by the four groups, preached, for the sake of all the bodhisattvas, the Great-vehicle sūtra called Innumerable Meanings... Then the Buddha sent forth from the circle of white hair between his eyebrows a ray of light, which illuminated eighteen thousand worlds in the eastern quarter, so that there was nowhere it did not reach, downward to the Avīci hell and upward to the Akaniṣṭha heaven (p. 33-34).

"At that time Maitreya Bodhisattva reflected thus: "How does the World-honored One display an appearance so marvelous. What is the cause and reason of this auspicious sign? Now that the Buddha, the World-honored One, has entered into his contemplation

and such inconceivable and unprecedented [wonders] appear, of whom shall I inquire, and who will be able to answer?' Again, he reflected thus: 'Here is Mañjuśrī, the son of the Law-king, who has been in close contact with and paid homage to former innumerable buddhas, and who must have witnessed such unprecedented signs as these. Let me now ask him'. (Katō 1975:34).

Two significant points emerge : (i) Mañjuśrī elucidates the auspicious spiritual sign and pronounces the sūtra. (ii) Secondly, the great luminous ray reveals in details the splendour of thousands of buddha-realms (p. 35): "Sending forth a single pure ray they illuminate innumerable domains" (p. 41). The vaipulya sūtras are conceptualised from the 'light' of samādhi and Mañjuśrī is their elocutor.

The maṇḍala comprises the following twelve quarters, which are ordered as follows in the traditional system (Tajima 1959:63):

1. Central quarter of the lotus
2. Quarter of Universal Knowledge
3. Quarter of Vidyādharas
4. Quarter of Avalokiteśvara
5. Quarter of Vajrapāṇi
6. Quarter of Śākyamuni
7. Quarter of Mañjughoṣa
8. Quarter of Kṣitigarbha
9. Quarter of Sarva-nīvaraṇa-viṣkambhin
10. Quarter of Ākāśagarbha
11. Quarter of Susiddhi
12. Quarter of Vajras

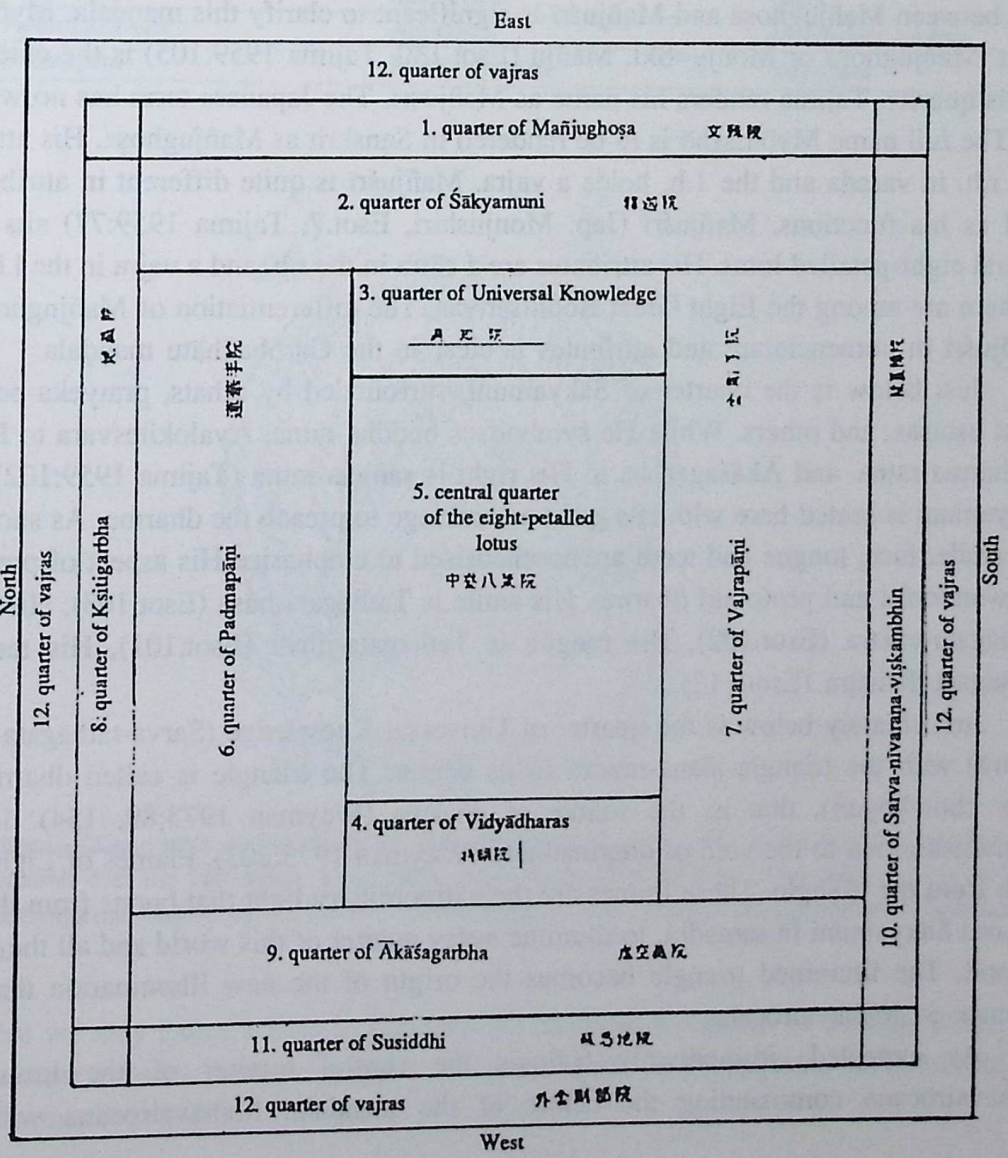
In the aforesaid traditional system, the quarters of the maṇḍala are explained in terms of philosophical categories. For instance, the central quarter of the Garbhadhātu maṇḍala represents the profound depth of our consciousness. The Five Buddhas and the Four Bodhisattvas are its symbols. In our profound consciousness there are nine notations:

1-5.	the five elementary senses: sight, hearing, smell, taste and touch	Dundudhi-nirghoṣa
6.	mano-vijñāna or the individuated consciousness	Amitābha
7.	kliṣṭa-manas or the mind of sufferance	Saṁkusumitarāja
8.	ālaya-vijñāna or store consciousness	Ratnaketu
9.	amala-vijñāna or pure consciousness	Vairocana

These nine are known as 'kings of the heart', that is, they govern all psychic activity, and they are situated in the very heart of the maṇḍala. The Five Tathāgatas are the innate effect, while the innate cause are Samantabhadra, Mañjuśrī, Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara. We shall skip over the philosophical correspondence of the other deities, as this categorisation does not help us to elucidate the historical development of the maṇḍala.

From the point of view of historical evolution, we can re-number the quarters as follows:

1. Mañjughoṣa (7)
2. Śākyamuni (6)
3. Universal Knowledge (2)
4. Vidyādharas (3)
5. Central Quarter of the Lotus (1)
6. Padmapāṇi (4: Avalokiteśvara)
7. Vajrapāṇi (5)
8. Kṣitigarbha (8)
9. Ākāśagarbha (10)
10. Sarva-nīvaraṇa-viṣkambhin (9)
11. Susiddhi (11)
12. Vajras (12)



Mañjughoṣa stands at the very top of the maṇḍala, because it is he who proclaims the vaipulya sūtras, as seen above. It is but natural because the mūla-tantra of the maṇḍala is a vaipulya-sūtra. In Japanese he is Myokisshō (Tajima 1959:105), which means that he speaks words of grace. It is a translation of the word Mañjughoṣa (*not* of Mañjuśrī). In short he is also referred to as Monju (=Mañju). The emphasis on *ghoṣa* in Mañju*ghoṣa* is highly significant, for Mañju*ghoṣa* is represented here as the *elocutor* of the sūtra. Mañjuśrī as one of the Eight Bodhisattvas occurs in the central quarter of the lotus, where he is clearly transcribed as Monjushiri (Tajima 1959:77). The contradistinction between Mañjughoṣa and Mañjuśrī is significant to clarify this maṇḍala. Myōkisshō =Skt. Mañjughoṣa or Monju=Skt. Mañju (Esot.130, Tajima 1959:105) is the chief deity of his quarter. Tajima renders his name as Mañjuśrī. The Japanese term has no word for śrī. The full name Myōkisshō is to be rendered in Sanskrit as Mañjughoṣa. His attributes are: r.h. in varada and the 1.h. holds a vajra. Mañjuśrī is quite different in attributes as well as his functions. Mañjuśrī (Jap. Monjushiri, Esot.7, Tajima 1959:77) sits in the central eight-petalled lotus. His attributes are a sūtra in the r.h. and a vajra in the l.h. Both of them are among the Eight Great Bodhisattvas. The differentiation of Mañjughoṣa and Mañjuśrī in nomenclature and attributes is clear in the Garbhadhātu maṇḍala.

Just below is the quarter of Śākyamuni, surrounded by arhats, pratyeka-buddhas, eight uṣṇīṣas, and others. While He symbolises buddha-ratna, Avalokiteśvara to His left is dharma-ratna, and Ākāśagarbha to His right is saṅgha-ratna (Tajima 1959:102). Lord Śākyamuni is seated here with His great assemblage to preach the dharma. As such even His smile, face, tongue and teeth are apotheosised to emphasize His aspect of preaching the wonderful and profound dharma. His smile is Tathāgata-hāsa (Esot.103), His face is Tathāgata-vaktra (Esot.102), His tongue is Tathāgata-jihvā (Esot.101), His teeth are Tathāgata-daṁṣṭra (Esot.112).

Immediately below is the quarter of Universal Knowledge (Sarva-tathāgata-jñāna-mudrā) with the triangle-jñāna-mudrā in its centre. The triangle is called dharmodaya (Tib. chos-ḥbyuṅ), that is, the source of dharma (Wayman 1973:89, 154). It is in contradistinction to the void of dharmadhātu (Wayman 1973:203). Flames of Light issue forth from the triangle. These flames are the extraordinary light that bursts from the ūrṇā of Lord Śākyamuni in samādhi, to illumine every quarter of this world and all the worlds beyond. The illumined triangle becomes the origin of the new illumination that is to emanate as Mahāvairocana.

As expected, immediately follows the central quarter of the lotus with Mahāvairocana commanding the centre of the maṇḍala. Mahāvairocana with four

Tathāgatas is flanked by two acolytes: Padmapāṇi and Vajrapāṇi. Tajima terms the quarter on the right as the quarter of Avalokiteśvara (Jap. Kannon), or of Padmapāṇi (蓮華手院), or of the padma family (Tajima 1959:88-90). It is better to term it the quarter of Padmapāṇi in assonance with Vajrapāṇi. It also distinguishes Padmapāṇi from Avalokiteśvara in the central lotus (Esot.8). The two acolytes of Mahāvairocana are patterned on that of Amitābha who is flanked by Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta. The *sanzon* may be tabulated as follows:

Brahmā	Śākyamuni	Indra
Avalokiteśvara	Amitābha	Mahāsthāmaprāpta
Padmapāṇi	Mahāvairocana	Vajrapāṇi

Sarva-tathāgata-jñāna-mudrā enveloped by the blazing flames of purity. The triangle symbolises knowledge to triumph over the four māras: kleśa-māra, mṛtyu-māra, skandha-māra, deva-māra. At the top are Urubilvā-kāśyapa and Gayā-kāśyapa, the two fire-worshippers who represent the conversion of tīrthikas to Buddhism.

Here we may pause a little to consider the multiple depictions of a deity. Some of them are represented a number of times in the maṇḍala, for example, Avalokiteśvara is shown six times:

Esot.		
8	Avalokiteśvara	one of the Eight Bodhisattvas (r.h. lotus, 1.h. abhaya)
29	Padmapāṇi or Avalokiteśvara	one of the two acolytes of Mahāvairocana (both hands hold lotus)
93	Avalokiteśvara	attendant of Śākyamuni, standing (r.h. flywhisk, 1.h.rests on hip)
131	Avalokiteśvara	attendant of Mañjuśrī, seated (r.h. rests in lap, 1.h. abhaya)
193	Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara Sahasra-bhuja Avalokiteśvara	Mahākāruṇika is the origin of the maṇḍala which is designated as Mahākaruṇā-garbh-odbhava-maṇḍala
205	Eleven-faced Avalokiteśvara Ekādaśa-mukha Avalokiteśvara	one of the eight siddhis

No.8 is one of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas, no.29 is one of the two acolytes of Mahāvairocana, no.193 is the origin of the maṇḍala, and no.205 represents the siddhis. The historical evolution of the constituent elements of the maṇḍala helps us to define the status and function that distinguish the several forms of a deity, besides their characteristic lakṣaṇas.

Besides the two acolytes, the retinue of Mahāvairocana comprises the Eight Great Bodhisattvas: Avalokiteśvara, Samantabhadra, Maitreya, Mañjuśrī (all four in the central lotus), and Mañjughoṣa (qr.1), Kṣitigarbha (qr.8), Ākāśagarbha (qr.9), Sarva-nīvaraṇa-viṣkambhin (qr.10). Their names in the eight hanging scrolls kept at Daigoji (TZ.135) are: Mañjughoṣa, Vajrapāṇi, Avalokiteśvara, Kṣitigarbha, Ākāśagarbha, Sarva-nīvaraṇa-viṣkambhin, Maitreya, Samantabhadra.

The quarter of Vidyādharas has Prajñāpāramitā in the centre, with four angry deities. While Prajñāpāramitā is the personification of the cakra of dharma, the other four are the personifications of the cakra of authority. She represents the prajñāpāramitā-yāna, which is the foundation of mahāyāna.

Mkhas-grub-rje (AD 1385-1438), the chief disciple of Tsoṅ-kha-pa the founder of the Tibetan Gelukpa sect, defines three stages of setting the wheel of Law into motion (dharma-cakra-pravartana): (i) śrāvaka-yāna, (ii) pāramitā-yāna, (iii) mantra-yāna. In the Garbhadhātu maṇḍala, the śrāvaka-yāna is represented by the quarter of Śākyamuni at the top, the pāramitā-yāna by Prajñāpāramitā of the quarter of Vidyādharas, and the whole maṇḍala is mantrayāna. All the stages of spiritual progress were owned and incorporated

in the pantheonic sweep of mantrayāna and its visual representation in the maṇḍala. We can see this in Kōbō Daishi's Ten Stages of spiritual development, wherein Confucianism, Taoism, Brahmanism, śrāvaka-yāna, pratyeka-buddha-yāna, etc. show "the timely progress of the human mind" (Takakusu 1956:149):

1. Various paths of blind life driven by the instinctive impulse (the stage of common people)
2. The vehicle of human beings striving to have a moral life (the stage of Confucianism)
3. The vehicle of heavenly beings striving to have supernatural power (the stage of Taoism and Brahmanism)—these three are the worldly vehicles.
4. The vehicle of the direct pupils of the Buddha (śrāvaka) striving for a higher spiritual life as in Hīnayāna schools, Kusha (=Abhidharmakośa), and Jojitsu (=Satyasiddhi) (stage of direct disciples)
5. The vehicle of the self-enlightened ones (pratyeka-buddha) enjoying self-enlightenment yet falling into egoism

6-7. The doctrine of Three vehicles, holding the three vehicles as real: the stages of the Sanron (=Mādhyamika) and Hossō (=Yogācāra) schools

8-9. The doctrine of One Vehicle holding the One Vehicle as real; the stages of the Kegon (=Avataṁsaka) and Tendai schools.

10. The Diamond Vehicle as held by the Shingon school.

Brahmanism is represented by the quarter of vajras (vajrāvali), where Śiva, Viṣṇu, Brahmā, the Twelve Devas of the ten directions alongwith the sun and moon, sages (ṛṣi), the 28 constellations, the 12 signs of the zodiac (rāśi), navagraha, and others are depicted.

The quarter of Susiddhi has eight deities. It figures neither in the sūtra nor in its commentary. It does not have any principal deity. The Eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara represents the excellence of the virtue of susiddhi, the object of his original wish, whence his presence in the quarter of Susiddhi. As such he is named Susiddhikara (transliterated into Chinese, Tajima 1959:124). Susiddhikara did not occur both in the sūtra and commentary because he was enunciated in a special sūtra entitled Susiddhikara-mahātantra-sādhan-opāyikā-paṭala, Soshicchikarakyō (Jap.), Su-hsi-ti-chieh-lo-ching (Chinese), Legs-par-grub-par-byed-paḥi rgyud-chen-po-las sgrub-paḥi-thabs rim-par-phye-ba (Tib.). This sūtra was translated by Śubhākarasiṁha in AD 726 (K432, Nj 533, T 893). The Mahāvairocana-sūtra and Susiddhikara-sūtra represent one and the same tradition of the caryā-tantras. The attainment of siddhis as an ultimate end, has a parallel in the Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha (STTS) the mūla-tantra of the Vajradhātu-mandala. The STTS

has four parts, and at the end are chapters on different kinds of siddhis 'attainment, empowerment'. Each of the siddhis in chapter 23 pertains to the following four families: (i) Tathāgata-kula, (ii)vajra-kula, (iii) padma-kula, and (iv) maṇi/ratna-kula. Guhya-siddhis are detailed in chapters 24 and 25. Likewise the Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala would be incomplete without the attainment of siddhis. Sādhana has to culminate in siddhi. Because the Mahāvairocana-sūtra and Susiddhikara-sūtra were separate, the intrinsic interconnection of the two was missed. It occasioned the remarks of Tajima (1959:122): "C"est en quelque sorte le troisième rang du quartier d'Akāçagarbha, ajouté pour des raisons de symétrie."

The eight deities of the quarter of Susiddhi reflect the eight siddhis of the haṭha-yoga of Patañjali. The are "supernatural powers acquired...through training, especially in Haṭha Yoga. ...Siddhis are also considered to be the direct or indirect result of a quest for enlightenment or knowledge. ...In case anything has been overlooked in the long list of siddhis given, there is one all-inclusive siddhi known as the *parā-siddhi*, 'transcendant power', in which all possibilities and impossibilities are comprehended." (Walker 1968: 2.394-395). The eight siddhis are the eight vibhūtis of Śiva. The fact that Avalokiteśvara represents the excellence of susiddhi preserves the reminiscences of his closeness to Śiva. Hsüan-tsang refers to Avalokiteśvara on the Potala (Beal 1884:2.333): "To the east of the Malaya mountains is Mount Potalaka. ...By the side of the lake is a rock-palace of the Devas. Here Avalokiteśvara in coming and going takes his abode. Those who strongly desire to see this Bodhisattva do not regard their lives, but crossing the water (fording the streams), climb the mountain forgetful of its difficulties and dangers; of those who make the attempt there are very few who reach the summit. But even of those who dwell below the mountain, if they earnestly pray and beg to behold the god, sometimes he appears as Īśvaradeva, sometimes under the form of a yogī (a Pāśupata); he addresses them with benevolent words and then they obtain their wishes according to their desires".

The maṇḍala is dominated by three large-sized images, namely, Mahāvairocana in the very centre, Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara in the north and 108-armed Vajradhara in the south. They are the three focal points of vision. The position of Mahāvairocana in the heart of the maṇḍala is natural. The maṇḍala is termed Mahākaruṇā-garbh-odbhava, namely, the maṇḍala born (udbhava) of the essence (garbha) of Mahākaruṇā. Mahākāruṇ-(ika) is the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara in the dhāraṇī translated by Bhagavaddharma (Nj 320, T 1060, K 294) and also by Amoghavajra (Nj 1444, T 1066). This explains the special size of the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara. He is placed directly under the quarter of Padmapāṇi Avalokiteśvara and represents the merit of the padma family.

The 108-armed Vajradhara (Tajima 1959:121) is placed under the quarter of Vajrapāṇi and symbolises the vajra family. He represents the wisdom of Vajrasattva. Vajradhara received instructions from Lord Śākyamuni and as such he is the genesis of the maṇḍala which is the visual dharma of the Mahāvairocana-sūtra. This is evident in the second chapter of this sūtra which relates to the establishment of the maṇḍala: "Then Vajradhara, Master of Miracles, asked the Buddha in the form of a gāthā: 'May the Venerable, who explains all wisdoms, condescend at my request to explain the time [favourable for making a maṇḍala]. To the disciples assembled in a crowd in favourable circumstances then will the 'master of the maṇḍalas' be able to describe the Shingon in all its details? Then Bhagavat declared to the Possessor of Wisdom of vajra"....(Tajima 1959:59). Vajradhara occupies a leading role in the tantras (see, for instance, Lessing/ Wayman 1968:37, 263-267, 317, etc.). In Indonesia, the mantrayāna sanctuaries were known as *kabajradharan* 'monasteries of the Bajradhara sect' (Nāgarakṛtāgama 62.1, 77.1, 80.1).

The three great figures of the maṇḍala are its essential core. The mahābodhisattva Samantabhadra requests Vajradhara and the emanation of deities commences with Mahāvairocana. This can be compared with the description of the first and main maṇḍala of the Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha which begins with a eulogy of its main bodhisattva Samantabhadra, and the emanation of deities at his request to MahāVajradhara, followed by a stotra of 108 names of MahāVajradhara. Samantabhadra is spoken of as the *Vajradhātur mahābodhisattvaḥ* (STTS 9).

Conclusion. The different quarters of the Garbhadhātu maṇḍala can be summarised as follows:

1.	Mañjughoṣa	enunciates the vaipulya sūtras in general.
2.	Śākyamuni	goes in samādhi and
3.	Universal Knowledge	a ray emerges from his ūrṇā, whence
5.	8-petalled Lotus	emanate Mahāvairocana and the other four Tathāgatas, who are
6,7.	Padmapāṇi, Vajrapāṇi	flanked by the two acolytes, and further
8-10.	Kṣitigarbha, Ākāśagarbha Sarva-nīvaraṇa-viṣkambhin	attended by a retinue of Eight Great Bodhisattvas: Mañjughoṣa, Kṣitigarbha, Akāśagarbha, Sarva-nīvaraṇa-viṣkambhin, besides Avalokiteśvara, Samantabhadra, Maitreya, Mañjuśrī (in the four petals of the central lotus, qr.5).
11.	Susiddhi	Their visualisation leads to the eight siddhis.

The other quarters embody the development of Buddhism from Hinduism (qr.12 vajras)→to Pāramitā-yāna (qr.4 of Vidyādharas with Prajñāpāramitā in the centre)→to vaipulya sūtras (qr.1 Mañjughoṣa)→and finally to mantrayāna (entire manṇḍala).

12. COMPARISON OF THE JAPANESE AND TIBETAN VERSIONS OF THE ABHISAMBODHI-VAIROCANA MAṆḌALA

The Abhisambodhi-Vairocana maṇḍala was delineated in China perhaps after its fundamental sūtra had been completed in a Chinese rendering in AD 725 by Śubhākarasiṁha and I-hsing. About a century later its Tibetan translation was done by Śīlendrabodhi and Dpal-brtsegs in the reign of King Ral-pa-can (AD 815?-836). The Sino-Japanese maṇḍala exists in fifteen versions. The maṇḍala prevalent in Japan is the Genzu version which has around four hundred deities. They are arranged in a highly systematic manner, which indicates a clear perception of its configuration. It seems to betray the clarity of the mind of Śubhākara and I-hsing. The maṇḍala is divided into twelve quarters as follows:

1. Central quarter of the lotus.
2. Quarter of Universal Knowledge.
3. Quarter of Vidyādharas.
4. Quarter of Padmapāṇi Avalokiteśvara.
5. Quarter of Vajrapāṇi.
6. Quarter of Śākyamuni.
7. Quarter of Mañjughoṣa.
8. Quarter of Kṣitigarbha.
9. Quarter of Sarvanīvaraṇaviṣkambhin.
10. Quarter of Ākāśagarbha.
11. Quarter of Susiddhi.
12. Quarter of Vajras.

The basic structure of the maṇḍala is that Vairocana and the other four Tathāgatas are flanked by two acolytes Padmapāṇi and Vajrapāṇi, and they are attended upon by the eight Bodhisattvas. They emerge from the rays of Śākyamuni's samādhi. Their sādhana leads to the eight siddhis. It embodies the development of Buddhism from Hinduism (12. Quarter of the Vajras) to Pāramitāyāna (4. Quarter of the Vidyādharas with Prajñāpāramitā in the centre) to vaipulya sūtras (1. Quarter of Mañjughoṣa) and finally to Mantrayāna (entire maṇḍala).

The Tibetan version has one hundred twenty two deities in the Ngor series of the encyclopedic rGyud-sde-kun-btus. This series has been reproduced in colour by Ngor Thar-rtse-mkhan-po bSod-nams-rgya-mtsho under the title of *Tibetan Maṇḍalas: The Ngor Collection* and published by Kodansha (Tokyo, 1983) in two large volumes. The

mandala number 20 is entitled the "122-Deity Abhisambodhi-Vairocana mandala". It has three enclosures: inner, middle, and outer. Their deities are detailed below. The serial numbers are as given by Thar-rtse-mkhan-po. Most of the deities of the Tibetan are found in the Genzu version, and they have been referred to Tajima's descriptions. Where a reference is lacking to Tajima (Tj) it means that the deity is not depicted in the Genzu version.

Central deity:

1. Vairocana (Tj. 77.1)

Inner enclosure:

A. Dharmodaya: a white triangle with a five-pointed vajra symbolising the dharmakāya (Tj. 81.3).

B. Maṇikūṭa 'heap of jewels' on a white lotus flower, symbolising mahākaruṇā.

2. Gaganalocanā
3. Avalokiteśvara (Tj. 89.4)
4. Tārā (Tj. 89.A5)
5. Bhṛkuṭī (Tj. 89.3)
6. Mahāsthāmaprāpta (Tj. 89.2)
7. Yaśodharā (Tj. 89.3)
8. Pāṇḍarā (Tj. 89.7)
9. Hayagrīva (Tj. 89.7)
10. Vajrapāṇi (Tj. 93.4)
11. Māmakī (Tj. 93.3)

12-14. Vajraśṛṅkhalā with her retinue (Tj. 93.B5)

15,16. Candrakrodha, 100,000 arms, with his retinue (cf. Krodhacandratilaka, Tj. 93.7)

17. Gaganāmala (Tj. 117)
18. Vajracakra (cf. Mahācakravajra, Tj. 93.7)
19. Vajradaṃṣṭra (Tj. 93.4)
20. Vikhyātamahābhāga (cf. Vajravikhyāta, Tj. 93.2)
21. Vajranātha
22. Vajraśānta
23. Mahāvajra
24. Vajranīla
25. Vajrapadmaviśālanetra
26. Vajrabhadra
27. Vajraniṣprapañcavihārin (Tj. 93.C5)

28. Ākāśānantyagati (Tj. 131.11)
29-30. Vajraśikharadevī and her retinue
31. Acala (Tj. 85.1)
32. Trailokyavijaya (Tj. 85.5)

Western gate of the inner enclosure:

33. Durdharṣa (Tj. 135.30)
34. Abhimukha (Tj. 135.27)

Middle enclosure:

35. Śākyamuni (Tj. 97.9)
36. Buddhalocanā (Tj. 81.4)
37. Ūrṇādevī (Tj. 97. All Tathāgatorṇā)
38. Sitātapatroṣṇīṣa (Tj. 97.8)
39. Jayoṣṇīṣa (Tj. 97.7)
40. Vijayoṣṇīṣa (Tj. 97.6)
41. Vikiraṇoṣṇīṣa (Tj. 97.4)
42. Tejorāśyuṣṇīṣa (Tj. 97.13)
43. Īśvara (Dbaṅ-phyug) (Tj. 134.3 Maheśvara)
44. Saṃkusumita (Kun-tu-me-tog) (Tj. 77.2)
45. *Jvālāmālin (Ḥod-kyi-phreṅ-ba-can)
46. Manobhava (Yid-mgyogs, UV. 26)
47. (Sgra-rnam-par-sgrogs-pa)
48. Mahoṣṇīṣa (Tj. 97.12)
49. ?Abhyudgatoṣṇīṣa (Gtsug-tor-gyen-ḥbyuṅ)
50. Anantasvaraghoṣoṣṇīṣa (Tj. 97.14)
51. Agni, surrounded by Five Ṛṣis (six ṛṣis on the thangka) (Tj. 132.1)
52. Kāśyapa (Tj. 81.ab)
53. Gautama (Tj. 132.5)
54. Markaṭa
55. Vasiṣṭha (Ba-shi-pa) (Tj. 131.39)
56. Aṅgiras (Tj. 132.2)
57. Yama (Tj. 133.32), flanked by six attendants
58. Yamī (Ḥchi-bdag-ḥjoms-pa) (Tj. 132.7)
59. Kālarātrī (Tj. 133.33)
60. Kaumārī (Tj. 134.7)
61. Vaiṣṇavī (Tj. 132.8)

62. Vārāhī
63. Cāmuṇḍā (Tj. 134.8)
64. Nirṛti (Tj. 134.1)
65-67. Devendra with two attendants (Tj. 137.14)
68. Varuṇa (Tj. 135.25, 32)
69. Sūrya, flanked by two consorts (Tj. 131.12-14)
70. Jayā
71. Vijayā
72. Brahmā (Tj. 129), zenith
73. Pṛthvī (Tj. 129), nadir
74. Sarasvatī (Tj. 135.37)
75. Viṣṇu (Tj. 135.35)
76. Skanda (Tj. 135.38, Kumāra)
77. Vāyu (Tj. 136.1)
78. Śaṅkara (Tj. 134.3)
79. Umā (Tj. 134.4)
80. Candra (Tj. 135.39)
81. Krodha Aparājita (Tj. 97.A9a)
82. Krodhī Aparājitā (consort of 81) (Tj. 97.A9a)
83. Kṣitipati (Sa-bdag) holding a vessel in his hand (CWB. 14.435-497 specifies that the three deities 81-83 be placed close to Vairocana).

Western Gate of the middle enclosure:

84. Nanda
85. Upananda

Outer enclosure:

86. Vajrasādhu with three Bodhisattvas:
87. Kumāra Jālinīprabha (Tj. 105.8)
88. Kumāra Vimalaprabha (Tj. 105.10)
89. Kumāra Ratnakūṭa (Tj. 105.9)

Five attendants of Vairocana (90-94):

90. Skra-can-ma (Keśinī, Tj. 105.6)
91. Nye-baḥi-skra-can-ma (Upakeśinī, Tj. 105.5)
92. Sna-tshogs-ma (Citrā, Tj. 105.4)
93. Nor-ldan-ma (Vasumatī, Tj. 105.3)
94. Ḥgugs-ma (Akarṣaṇī, Tj. 105.2)

95-99. Five Parivārā with musical accompaniments
100-108. Sarvanīvaraṇaviṣkambhin, flanked by 8 Bodhisattvas (Tj. 113.5)
109-114. Kṣitigarbha, flanked by 5 Bodhisattvas (Tj. 109.5)
115-120. Ākāśagarbha, flanked by 5 Bodhisattvas (Tj. 119.7)

Western Gate of the Outer enclosure:

121. Durdharṣa (Tj. 135.30)
122. Abhimukha (Tj. 135.27)

TIBETAN VARIANTS

1. The Tibetan version differs considerably from the Genzu. The Tibetan has only Vairocana in the centre. It does not represent the other four Tathāgatas like the Genzu. Around Vairocana there are:

NE Gaganalocanā (Tib. 2)
SE Vajraśikharadevī with attendant (Tib. 29, 30)
SW Acala (Tib. 31)
NW Trailokyavijaya (Tib. 32)

Gaganalocanā reflects Rocanā the consort of Vairocana. Vajraśikharadevī refers to the Vajraparvata, the place where Vajrayāna arose. In the *Nikāyasaṅgraha*, the esoteric denomination is named the nikāya of Vajraparvatavāsin's. In Tibetan only the first and last of the five Vidyārājas, namely Acala, Trailokyavijaya are depicted, while in the Genzu the five Vidyārājas are represented in a special quarter (Tj. 85.1-5). At the back of Vairocana are:

Krodha Aparājita (Tib. 81)
Krodhī Aparājitā (Tib. 82)

Kṣitipati (Sa-bdag) holds a kalaśa (Tib. 83). Aparājita and his consort Aparājitā accompany Śākyamuni in the Genzu (Tj. 97.9a, a). The vase as Earth of the Genzu is represented in the Tibetan as the Vase-holding Sa-bdag/Kṣitipati.

2. In the three gates there are no deities, but besides them the Tibetan has:

E Dharmodaya 'Triangle' (Tib. A)
S Vajrapāṇi (Tib. 10)
W The gate has Durdharṣa and Abhimukha (Tib. 33, 34)
N Avalokiteśvara (Tib. 3)

Thus the two acolytes of the Genzu, Vajrapāṇi and Padmapāṇi Avalokiteśvara, are represented without retinue in Tibetan. In the Genzu both have a special quarter and a retinue. The gates in the Genzu are as follows:

E Two Dvārapālas and two Dvārapālīs (Tj. 131.16-20)
S Nanda and Upananda (Tj. 133.28, 29)
W Nanda and Upananda (Tj. 135.26, 29)
Abhimukha and Durdharṣa (Tj. 135.27, 30)
N Nanda and Upananda (Tj. 137.16, 17)

Only the outer enclosure of Genzu has four gates. In the Tibetan all the three enclosures have gates, though only in the west:

W of Inner enclosure: Durdharṣa and Abhimukha (Tib. 33, 34)
W of Middle enclosure: Nanda and Upananada (Tib. 84, 85)
W of Outer enclosure: Durdharṣa and Abhimukha (Tib. 121, 122)

3. The eight Bodhisattvas in the Genzu are:

Avalokiteśvara
Samantabhadra
Maitreya
Mañjuśrī
Mañjughoṣa
Kṣitigarbha (Tib. 109-114)
Ākāśagarbha (Tib. 115-120)
Sarvanīvarṇaviṣkambhin (Tib. 100-108)

Only three of them are represented in the Tibetan in a haphazard manner. None of them has a quarter or a retinue. In the Genzu their depiction has been systematised. On the whole the Genzu is better ordered.

4. In the south of the inner enclosure (Tib. 10-19) no classification is discernible. Candrakrodha is delineated prominently with a hundred thousand arms and an acolyte. These deities continue into the west (Tib. 20-28) and end with Ākāśānantyagati (Tib. 28). Ākāśānantya represents the arūpadhātu, like Ākāśānantyāyatana in the Genzu (Tj. 131.11). In the north, Tibetan has Mahāsthāmaprāpta with Tārā, Bhṛkuṭī, Yaśodharā, and Pāṇḍarā (Tib. 4-8, Tj. 89, A2, A5, B3, C7).

Middle enclosure

5. In the east of the middle enclosure is Śākyamuni (Tib. 35) together with Buddhalocanā (Tib. 36) corresponding to the quarter of Śākyamuni in the Genzu (Tj. 95). He is accompanied by eight Uṣṇīṣas as in the Genzu (Tj. 97). Agni (Tib. 51) is in his direction SE, along with Five Ṛṣis. In the south is Yama with his consort and Māṭṛkās (Tib.57-63). Hereafter follow deities in an eclectic manner. They have been discussed under the eight Bodhisattvas and twelve Devas.

6. The twelve Devas in the Genzu are: 10 Dikpālas, Sūrya, and Candra. They are represented in the middle enclosure of the Tibetan version as follows:

E	Indra (?) (Tib. 65) and two attendants
SE	Agni (Tib. 51) and Five Ṛṣis
S	Yama (Tib. 57) and six deities
SW	Nirṛti (Tib. 64)
W	Varuṇa (Tib. 68)
NW	Vāyu (Tib. 77)
N	Kubera
NE	Īśana
Zenith	Brahmā (Tib. 72)
Nadir	Pṛthvī (Tib. 73)
	Sūrya (Tib. 69) and two consorts (Tib. 70, 71)
	Candra (Tib. 80)

Devendra with two attendants appears in the north, while he should be in the east. The east is occupied by Śākyamuni. Kubera guards the north: he is missing in the Tibetan painting, and so also Īśāna of the north-east. Varuṇa appears aside in the north, while his appropriate direction is the west. Vāyu is in the north-west: he is not exactly in the north-west corner. The Tibetan version presents a confused placement of the ten directions.

General conclusions

1. The systematisation in the Genzu supersedes the Tibetan.

2. The Tibetan pertains only to Vairocana, while the *Genzu* covers all the five Tathāgatas.

3. The Triangle (Genzu: Sarvatathāgatajñānamudrā, Tibetan *dharmodaya*) was an integral part of the maṇḍala: Śākyamuni >*dharmodaya* > Vairocana. The elocutor Mañjughoṣa is added in the Genzu.

4. The Tibetan has three clearly identifiable enclosures but no quarters like the Genzu. The Genzu has quarters which have a clear cut classification.

5. The quarter of Susiddhi represents the culmination of the maṇḍala: the attainment (*siddhi*) after realisation (*sādhana*) of the maṇḍala. Cause has to be followed by effect, action by result, a process by an end-product.

6. In the Genzu all the Hindu deities are classified, arranged in eight directions, and placed systematically. In the Tibetan version they are eclectic and incomplete.

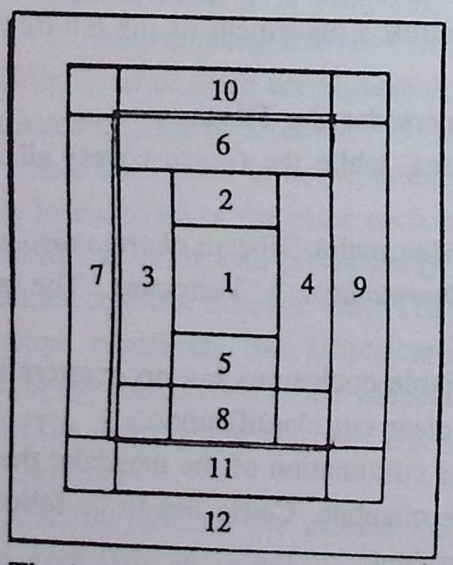
7. The Tibetan does not show the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara and Hundred-and-eight-armed Vajradhara. They are clearly additions by I-hsing.

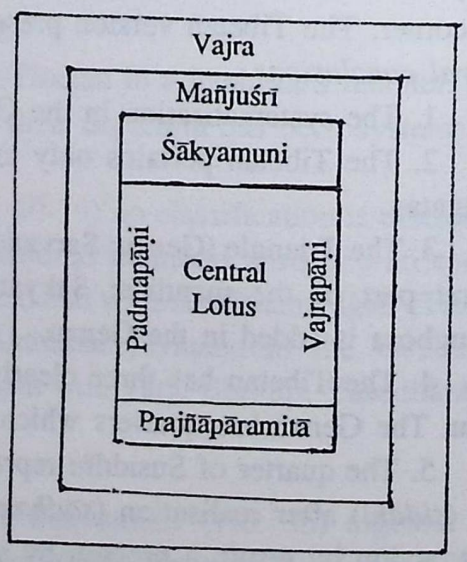
8. The clarity of visualisation, categorisation of the deities, their placement in directions, creation of neat and clear-cut quarters, the long rectangular shape, and other features of clarity and symmetry in the Genzu bespeak of Chinese innovation and systematisation.

9. The configuration of the Tibetan maṇḍala is different from the Genzu.

10. The Tibetan version is closer to the original text. The Genzu has more deities than the Tibetan. It seems that the deities named in various chapters of the Mahāvairocana-sūtra have been integrated into the Genzu by I-hsing. The need to accommodate over 400 deities led to a new configuration of the maṇḍala.

11. The long rectangular form of the maṇḍala betrays Chinese predilection for vertical scroll paintings. I-hsing was close to Taoists whose classic is Ching "Book of Changes." "The sages created the I Ching's basic ideograms (*hsiang*) to convey the mystery of change in the universe...and to bring out the fuller meanings" (Lai 1983:229). I-hsing revived the scholarship of I Ching in the T'ang period (Kazuo 1963). He produced diagrammatic arrangements (t'u) of the hexagrams in the I Ching. These diagrams have been lost. The Garbha maṇḍala exists and seems to be influenced by his lost trigrams/ hexagrams. The maṇḍala has three enclosures within each other. It is a trigrammatic structure. It is clear when the maṇḍala is painted in colours.





The inner enclosure is also trigrammatic. It depicts three stages in the development of Buddhism:

Śrāvaka-yāna	promulgated by Śākyamuni
Pāramitā-yāna	propounded in the Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras and represented as Ten

	Pāramitās in the Ākāśagarbha quarter
Mantra-yāna	represented in the centre of the enclosure.

The three quarters are laid one upon the other, like the trigram ☲. The middle – – is the innermost enclosure, the sanctum sanctorum.

The Central Lotus again has three strata: Universal knowledge, Central lotus, Vidyādharas. The configurational proximity of the maṇḍala to the trigram helped assimilation into the Chinese mindscape as the sacred-most centre. The Chinese Emperor, as a Taoist, must have realised the close relationship of the maṇḍala to the basic constructs of Taoism. It helped in the acceptance of the new order and ultimately in its interiorisation.

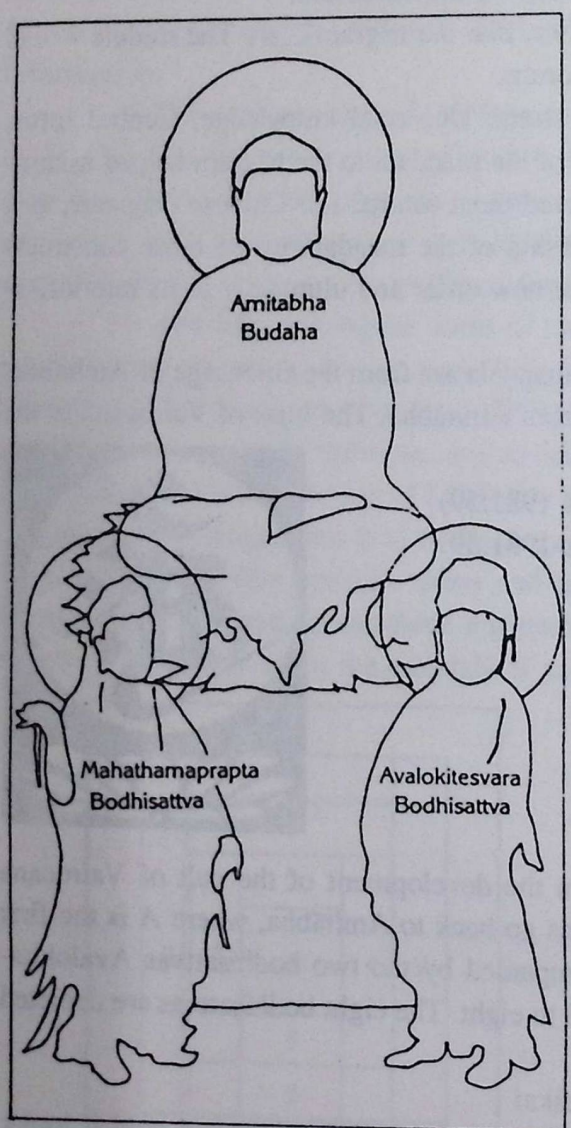
The eight Great Bodhisattvas in this maṇḍala are from the entourage of Amitābha. It is but natural, as Vairocana has evolved from Amitābha. The bījas of Vairocana in the twin maṇḍalas are:

Vajradhātu Vairocana	VAṂ (Stevens 1981:59)
Garbhadhātu Vairocana	ĀṂḤ (Stevens 1981:59)

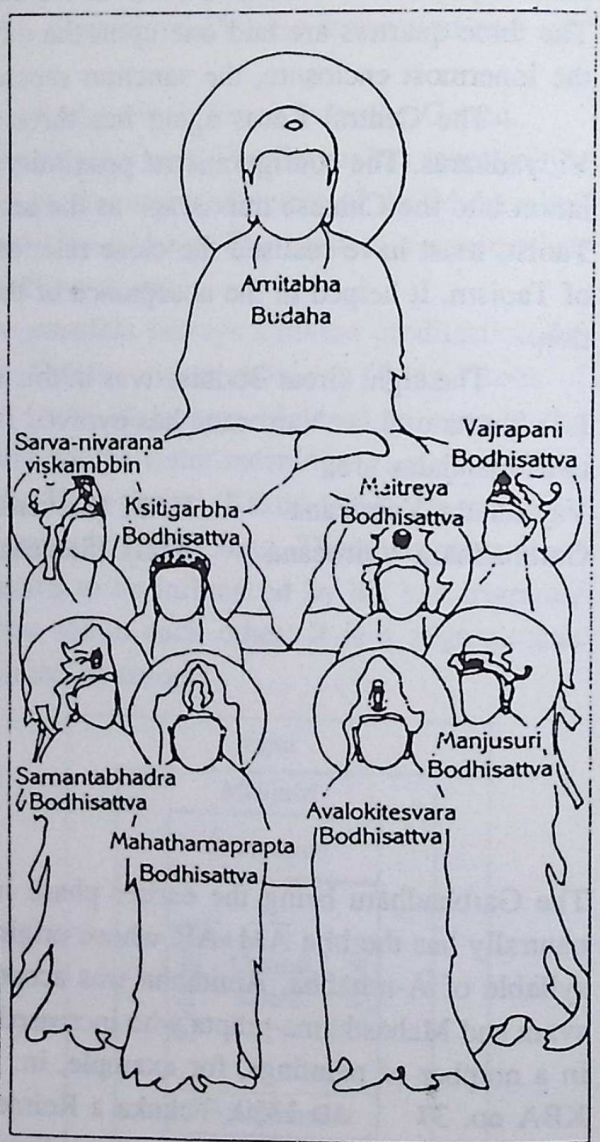
The Garbhadhātu being the earlier phase in the development of the cult of Vairocana naturally has the bīja ĀṂ+ĀḤ whose origins go back to Amitābha, where A is the first syllable of A-mitābha. Amitābha was accompanied by the two bodhisattvas Avalokitasvara and Mahāsthāma-prāpta who increased to eight. The eight bodhisattvas are depicted in a number of paintings, for example, in:

KBA no. 37	AD 1320, Tokuka a Reimeikai
KBA no. 41	AD 1320, Matsuotera Temple, painted in red, white and gold it looks noble and elegant
KBA no. 45	AD 1307, National Museum of Korea

The placement of the eight bodhisattvas is clear in the following diagram:



Amitabha Triad



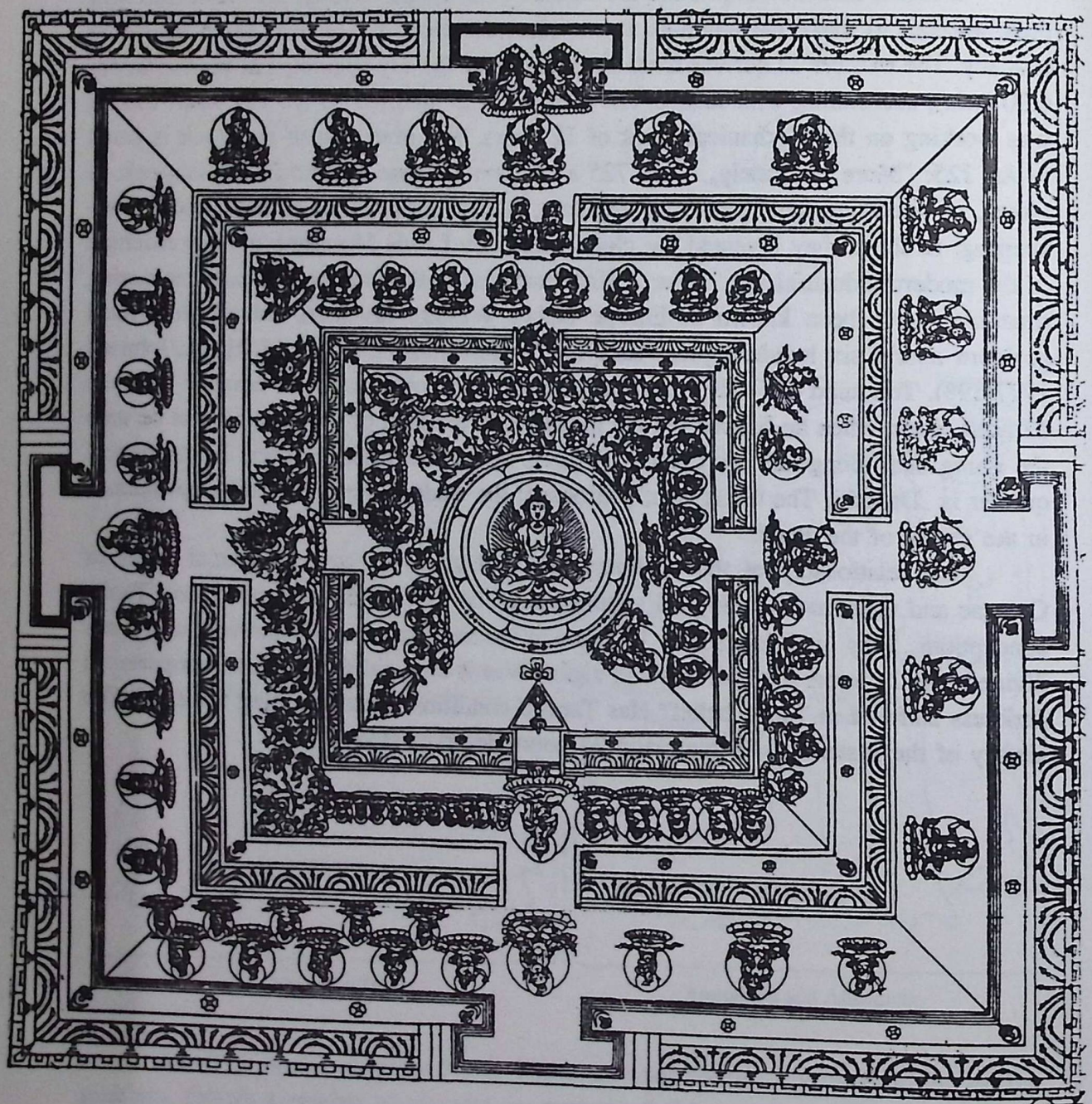
Amitabhas and Attendants

12. *Why twelve quarters* ? The Sutra does not specifically mention the twelve quarters, though a number of quarters are mentioned (Mammitzsch 1991). The Tibetan maṇḍala follows the Sutra and does not have 12 quarters. Śubhākarasiṁha's version too does not specify the 12 quarters as such.

It seems that the 12 quarters are an idea of I-hsing to arrange *all* the deities *with* their retinues to make the maṇḍala as complete as possible. This was to maximise its efficacy. The number 12 derives from the 12 hours of the day beginning at sunrise (about 6.00 a.m.), and ending with sunset. The maṇḍala was finalised by AD 724 when I-hsing was working on the mechanical clock of 12 hours. The invention of the clock is dated to AD 725: "More concretely, in AD 725 a brilliant Chinese Tantric Buddhist monk, I-Hsing, co-operating with a military engineer, solved the problem of mechanical time-keeping; in short, they invented the clock, called by Lewis Mumford 'the key machine of the modern industrial age.' Thus, a Sino-Buddhist method of mechanically measuring time may have been known in Europe before Western inventors solved the critical problem nearly six hundred years later in the thirteenth century." (Robinson/Johnson 1977:198). The mind of I-hsing must have been pre-occupied with the number 12 in the 12 hour clock, when he figured out the maṇḍala. In the East of the maṇḍala can be seen the rising sun, alongwith his consort Vijayā, in the outermost quarter. In the central quarter is Danichi, The Great Sun, Vairocana: the midday sun in its full resplendence in the centre of the zenith.

The relationship of the 12 hours of the day are denoted by special terms in Chinese and they have astrological significance. The 12 fold division can reflect Taoist conceptions. Why did I-hsing have 12 hours in the mechanical clock and why was it not divided into 24 hours for both day and night? Was it to avoid the night, which portends darkness and evil in Taoist belief? Has Taoism conditioned time-keeping for ever? The history of the system of 12 hours and 24 hours deserves study.

Revised version of the article first published in the *Indo-Tibetan Studies* (papers in honour and appreciation of Professor David L. Snellgrove's contribution to Indo-Tibetan Studies), edited by Tadeusz Skorupski, Buddhica Britannica II (1990).



13. THE LETTER *A* IN SINO-JAPANESE

A 阿 = Sanskrit *a* 𑖀, the first of the 12 vowels and 50 letters of Shittan= Siddham. Other transcriptions of *a* in Chinese are: 阿,婀,過,阿,噁,惡,堊,安,菴,頞.

The letters, that is to say the written sounds, and the sounds, that is to say the pronounced letters, have served as food for thought to all mystics. The Indian mystic cultivated this kind of exercise with passion applying to it the gifts of phonetic observation and analysis characteristic of the Indian grammatical genius. Buddhism picked up this tradition, perpetuated it and propagated it in the whole of East Asia. Among all sounds, the *a* has a privileged rank and role. It opens the alphabet in Sanskrit as in other languages (compare I am the Alpha and the Omega). It is the most elementary articulation, formed in the deepest part of the buccal cavity. Besides, in Indian scriptures, it is inherent in all the consonants: *k* is read as *ka, g* as *ga*, etc. It is the beginning, and therefore the principle of all the sounds. The beginning, the principle, is expressed in Sanskrit by the word *ādi*, the first letter of which is to be precise, a long *ā*. Moreover, *a* is the negative particle in Sanskrit (as in Greek: e.g. atom, amorphous, aseptic, etc.). Therefore it also symbolises the fundamental negation, that which bears on the Production of Essences, which do not arise from spontaneous generation, but only result from the play of causes. Generally speaking, it symbolises all the negations which limit the finite with respect to the absolute (*anitya* "impermanent", etc.).

A is the syllable par excellence, and in Sanskrit the syllable is called akṣara "without emanation"; it therefore is also the symbol of the permanent. Combined with the secondary articulations which modify the vowel (elongation, nasalisation, whistled breath), the system of the *a* becomes a microcosm where a skillful play of correspondences rediscovers universal evolution, in ascending or descending order. Lastly, the

mystical is a close neighbour of the erotic, the *a* can lend itself to interpretations of a sexual order. All these developments which were taken abroad by Buddhist missionaries, originate in India itself. Their equivalents are still to be found there, hardly modified in the schools of Hindu tantrism, which particularly flourish in Bengal and in South India. Tibetan Buddhism also accorded a large place to this type of speculation.

AJIGI 阿字義, MEANING OF THE LETTER *A*

Numerical classifications. It has *three* meanings: Existence, Void, Non-Production in I-hsing's commentary on the Mahāvairocana-sūtra (T1796.7):

(1) The Sanskrit letter *a* is the Original phoneme; having an origin, it is an Essence of the causal chain; that is why it is given the name Existence.

(2) The letter *a* has the meaning of Non-Production for it depends on Factors, it has no Characteristic nature; that is why it is called Void.

(3) The Non-Production is the domain of the unique Reality; it is the Middle Path. (In this last sense, "Non-Production" is interpreted as an abbreviation of "Without-Production and Without-Obstruction".).

It has *seven* meanings in the Rāṣṭrāpala-dhāraṇī (T997ix, K1384, Nj 978) translated by Prājña and Muniśrī in AD 790: Spirit of Enlightenment, Rubric of Essence, Non-duality, Level of Essence, Essencity, Sovereignty, Body of Essence.

It has *ten* meanings in the series drawn up by Kakuban (AD 1095-1143) in Ajhs. It has 65 meanings in the Mahāratnakūṭa translated by Bodhiruci in AD 706 (T310 lxviii, K22). It has a 100 meanings in the Rāṣṭrapāla-dhāraṇī (T997ii): The Essence are not of the future, of the past, Operative, stable, have no original characteristic-nature, no Root, etc.

Meanings in exoteric texts. Negation (Sanskrit *a, an*), original non-production (Sanskrit *ādyanutpāda*, Jap. *aji hompushō*), beginning (*ādi*), Impermanence (*anitya*), Three Jewels (*Triratna*), etc. Pañcaviṁśatisāhasrikā translated by Kumārajīva (T223v): the Rubric of the letter *a* is the initial Non-Production of all the Essences (T220 liii, 221iv, 222vii). The Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra translated by Kumārajīva in AD 406 (T1509xlviii, K549) says: The Bodhisattva hearing the letter *a* in all languages, at once conforms to its meaning, which is that all the Essences have since beginning the character of Non-Production. In the language of the Shin (Tsin) *ādi* signifies beginning, and *anutpāda* Non-Production. Amoghavajra in the Dvācatvāriṁśad-akṣara-dhyāna (T1019, Nj 1450): On hearing the letter *a*, by force of his merits, the Bodhisattva obtained entry

into the Rubric of the Perfection of Sapience of the Domain of the Undiversified, for he understands the original Non-Production of all the Essences (T279 lxxvi, 293 xxi). Mañjuśrī-paripṛcchā translated by Saṅghabhara in AD 518 (T468i, K412), and by Amoghavajra (T469, Nj 975, K 1309): When one pronounces the letter *a*, it is the sound of Impermanence. Lalitavistara translated by Divākara in AD 683 (T187iv, K lll) says: In pronouncing *a*, one produces the sound of the Impermanence of all the Operatives. Sannipāta-sūtra translated by Dharmakṣema and others during AD 414-426 (T397x, Nj 61, K 56): The letter *a* is the Rubric of all Essences, for it signifies negation, and all the Essences are impermanent. Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra translated by Fa-hsien in AD 418 (T376v, Nj 120, K 106): the short *a* has an auspicious meaning, namely the Meaning of the Three Jewels. Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra translated by Hui-yen and others during AD 424-452 (T375viii, Nj 114, K 1403): The short *a* has the Meaning of the Three Jewels, because it is indestructible, like the Diamond; then the Meaning of Tathāgata, for it does not flow, as the Tathāgata who does not flow through the nine Orifices, since he does not have any of the nine Orifices, or moreover because what does not flow is permanent and the Tathāgata is permanent, for he does not move at all; then the Meaning of Merits, for the Merits are the Three Jewels. The Chinese authors have often resorted to *a*, symbol at once of beginning and of Non-Production, to illustrate their doctrines. Thus Eshi establishes a correspondence between the 42 letters of the syllabary (Shijunijimon) and the 42 degrees of the carrier of the Bodhisattvas (10 Residences, 10 Behaviours, 10 Deflexions, 10 Earths, Equal Enlightenment and Marvellous Enlightenment). The authors of the Tendai sect, founded by his disciple Chigi, use this correspondence to show that the Production of the Spirit of Enlightenment, which marks the beginning of the career of the Bodhisattvas, is identical with the Marvellous Enlightenment which is its culmination: just as the *a* is present in all the letters and contains them all, in so far as it is their principle, so all the degrees of the career are contained in the first, for "the one is the all and the all the one". Chigi's commentary on the Lotus Sutra (T1716v, Nj 1534): since the Production of the Spirit, the Bodhisattva of the Complete Doctrine obtains the real Character of the Essences and possesses all the Essences of the Buddha; this is what one calls the letter *a*. Having reached the Land of the Marvellous Enlightenment, he penetrates the depths of all the Essences; this is what is called the letter ḍha (last of the 42 letters in the classification beginning with a-ra-pa-ca-na). Kichizo (AD 549-623), founder of the Sanron sect, illustrates his doctrines of the Void by the *a* (T 1853): The Essences are Non-Production from the origin, for they have as origin the letter *a* and go back to the letter *a*, which is a Non-Production Rubric. This is why the sūtra says: All the 42 letters return to the *a*.

Meanings in esoteric texts. Mahāvairocana-sūtra translated by Śubhākarasiṁha and I-hsing in AD 725 (T 848ii, vi, K 427) and Akṣara-mātṛkā-vyākhyā translated by Amoghavajra during AD 746-774 (T 880, Nj 1052, K 1370): The Rubric of the letter *a* is the original Non-Production of all the Essences.

The commentary of I-hsing on the Mahāvairocana-sūtra (T 1796vii): The letter *a* is the origin of the teaching of all the Essences. As soon as one opens one's mouth, it is the sound *a* that is produced. Without the sound *a* no language is possible. That is why it is called the mother of all phonemes. Again in scroll xii: the letter *a* is the Seed of all the letters. In scroll xii: The Meaning of the real Character of the Rubric of the letter *a* penetrates the Meaning of all the Essences. How is this? All the Essences are produced by the Factors. All that is produced by a Factor has a beginning, an origin; but if one inspects this producing Factor, it is itself produced by Factors; and if one follows these Factors in their Transformation-by-reciprocal-action, what is their origin? By inspecting this, one knows the Extremity of the original Non-Production. Such is the origin of all the Essences. Even as hearing all words is like hearing the sound *a,* so also seeing the Production of all the Essences is seeing its Extremity which is the original Non-Production. Seeing this is veritably knowing the very heart of the Essences; it is the Wisdom of Wisdoms.

Kōbōdaishi (775-835) in Shittanji-moshaku and in Kongōchōkyōkaidai: *A* is glossed by all the forms of negation.

A is the Seed of Vairocana in the Garbhadhātu, and the common Seed of all the personages in the two maṇḍalas (compare I-hsing's commentary on the Mahāvairocana-sūtra, T 1796vii). It has as Ideal the Body of Essence of the Ideal of Vairocana, and the Knowledge by which it is known that it is the Body of Essence of Knowledge of Vairocana; the first of these Bodies belonging to the Garbhadhātu and the second to the Vajradhātu, the *a* implies the Non-duality of the two dhātus.

The *a* is also said to be "Seed of the wheel of the moon" (*aji gachirin shuji)* or "Seed of the moon of the knowledge" because in the Inspection of the Three Mysteries (Sammitsu) one makes a wheel of the moon with the *a*, and by the Inspection of *a* one acquires the Knowledge of the original Non-Production of all Essences. Compare Ratnakūṭa-sūtra translated by Bodhiruci in AD 713 (T 310xxv, K 22): "What is the Rubric of the Essences called Seal of the *a (aji-in*)? The *a* is the Seal which marks the fact that all the Essences are created by nescience. When the Practices are fully accomplished, it is the letter *a* that one obtains first; and the nescience is extinguished, for one knows that nothing is created".

According to the oral tradition, erotic interpretations of the *a* have been used in the two esoteric schools in Japan, Tōmitsu and Taimitsu (cf. Tdjs. 21b). In the first (the branch called Tachikawa), it is made to correspond to the two sexual principles, *in* (*yin*) and *yo (yang)*. In the second branch the *a* is visualised as the state of the Substantial where the Formal and the Spirit are mixed, to the "unique point" of the sexual act, and the "respiration" of the organs during the act was identified with the breath of the original Enlightenment without beginning.

AJIKAN 阿字觀 , INSPECTION OF THE LETTER *A*
(and other tantric practices attached to the *a*)

The inspection of the *a* is a fundamental practice in Tantrism. It was taught by most masters of Chinese and Japanese Tantrism, beginning with Zemmui/Śubhākara-siṁha, to whom the Garbhadhātu is attached (I-hsing's commentary on the Mahāvairocana-sūtra T 1796 and Śubhākarasiṁha T 917).

Samyak-sambodhi-cittotpāda-śāstra, translated by Amoghavajra (T 1665, Nj 1319): A white lotus with eight petals, in the space of one elbow-room, on which the letter *a* appears dazzling in bright colour. The two thumbs are to be introduced below the eight other fingers which are crossed and the calm Wisdom of the Tathāgata is made to penetrate into the self.

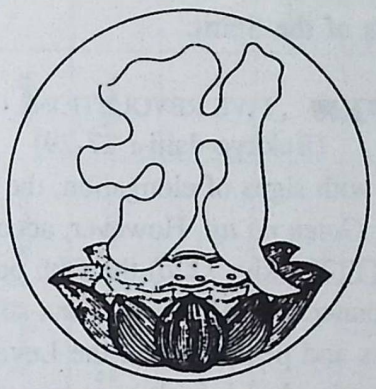
I-hsing's commentary on the Mahāvairocana-sūtra (T 1796x): The letter *a*, being the first, is the Spirit of Enlightenment. If one practises the Application while Inspecting this letter, one identifies with the Substantial of the Body of Essence of Vairocana. In Inspecting the Wheel of this letter, like the dazzling wheel of a peacock's tail, the practitioner installs himself within it and installs himself thus in the Essence of Buddha. Further, in scroll iv: One Inspects one's own Spirit and one identifies it with the lotus with eight petals. The Master says: The Heart (*hṛdaya*) is like an unopened lotus flower; its eight-fold muscles are contracted in a compact mass, directed upwards in man, and downwards in woman. When one begins to Inspect this lotus, it unfolds and becomes a base [a pedestal] of a white lotus with eight petals. On this platform one Inspects the letter *a* having the [five] colours of the Diamond. Then one places within one's head the King of the Hundred Universal Lights (in other words Vairocana), and one Inspects him with an unblemished eye.

Śubhākarasiṁha in Mui-sanzo-zen-yo (T 917): In order to go into the Inspection, the beginner should interrupt all the Factors and stop all occupation. He should seat himself alone in a tranquil place, half crossing the legs, then hold his hands firmly in the

position of the Seal. The head straight and the gaze horizontal, the eyes should neither be too wide open nor too closed; for in opening them too wide he risks being distracted, and by closing them too much, he could fall into a torpor...

The details of the method of Inspection vary according to schools and masters. In the Vajradhātu the letter *a* (gilded) is drawn above a white lotus with eight petals, inside a wheel of full moon (light coloured circle on a dark background) having one elbow-room for diameter (1 foot 6 inches). In the Garbhadhātu, the Wheel containing the *a* is placed on the lotus. This picture is hung on the wall and one sits before it at a distance of 4 feet, with legs either half (*hankaza*), or completely (*zenkaza*) crossed. One performs a ritual for the protection of the body (*goshimbo*), one recites various mantras, one makes one or more Seals, then one enters into the Inspection. This is divided into three parts: (1) Inspection of the sound: one utters the *a* with each expiration and inspiration. According to I-hsing's commentary on the Mahāvairocana-sūtra (T1796 xi) and Gōhō's (AD 1309-1362) Ennōshō: one Inspects during inspiration the Non-Production, and the Non-Obstruction during expiration. (2) Inspection of the letter, in the order of the Garbhadhātu: (a) Inspection of the lotus, Form of Convention corresponding to the Heart (hṛdaya) of the practitioner and to the Ideal of the Garbhadhātu; (b) Inspection of the Wheel of the moon, Form of Convention corresponding to the Spirit (citta) of the practitioner and to the Body of Essence of Knowledge of the Vajradhātu; (c) Inspection of the letter *a*, Seed of Vairocana in whom Ideal and Knowledge are not differentiated. In the Vajradhātu, the order is: Wheel, lotus, letter *a*. (3) Inspection of the real Character, that is to say of the original Non-Production.

The beginners remain before the picture night and day, morning and evening, until it is continuously present in their spirit whether they open or close their eyes. Little by little it appears to them to grow bigger and bigger, dazzling, immense; the moon of the lotus of the *a* of the Level of Essence of all Space is identified with the moon of the lotus of the *a* in their own heart. This is what is called the state of Application of the *a* (*ajiyuga*) or of Attaining of the *a* (*ajishicchi*). The expert practitioners need no picture. They Inspect the *a* in their heart. The method described above is called abbreviated Inspection (*ryakkan*). One can also Inspect the *a* at any time and in any place, while walking or standing, seated, lying down, etc...; this is what is called developed Inspection (*kōkan*).



THE *A* AS MANTRA

The *a* is called "One-letter mantra of Vairocana" in I-hsing's commentary on the Mahāvairocana-sūtra (T1796 vii): uttering the *a* is uttering the simplest mantra of Vairocana. It is also called "King of Mantras", because it can replace all mantras. The *a* is the Heart of all Mantras; when it spreads in the Heart of the practitioner (*ajifushin*), it is said that the Heart becomes the Heart, or in short form: the Heart of the Heart.

FOUR USES of the *a* (*Ajigushiyu*) in I-hsing's commentary on the Mahāvairocana-sūtra (T1796 vii): In the mantras of the Tathāgata, each word, each name, each Character that is established fully realises the advantage of the inner significance. According to the Mantra of Convention: (1) The *a* which is the first among sounds, having the Meaning of Non-Production, has the advantage of soothing scourges. (2) By virtue of this Meaning, it posseses completely all the merits without lacuna, therefore it has the advantage of positive growth. (3) For the same reason, it destroys innumerable sins; therefore it has the advantage of mastery. (4) As there is not a single Essence which is outside the Non-Production, it has the advantage of totality.

SEVEN PHRASES on the merits of the Rubric of the *a* (*Ajimon kudoku shichiku*) in Śubhākarasiṁha's translation of the Mahāvairocana-sūtra (T848 iii): In the Rubric of the Mantras, in the matter of the Practices of the Bodhisattvas, if a Bodhisattva desires (1) to see a Buddha, (2) to make an offering to him, (3) prove the Production of the Spirit of Enlightenment, (4) take part in the assemblies of the Bodhisattvas, (5) be useful to Beings, (6) seek Attainment, (7) seek Omniscience, he should exercise with zeal this letter to which belongs the Heart of all the Bodhisattvas.

Gōhō's (1306-1362) Ennōshō establishes a correspondence between these seven phrases and the merits of the five Revolutions as follows: 1 Production of the Spirit, 2 Practice, 3 Proof of Enlightenment, 4 Inner Proof of Nirvāṇa, 5 Outer use of Nirvāṇa, 6 Means of the Body, 7 Means of the Spirit.

AJIGOTEN 阿字五轉 , FIVE REVOLUTIONS OF THE LETTER *A*
(Bukkyo-daiji-i 27-29)

The letter *a* provided with signs of elongation, the anusvāra and visarga (āṁḥ) is called "*a* with five points" or *Goten no aji*. However, according to I-hsing's commentary on the Mahāvairocana-sūtra (T1796 xiv. 722c) the fifth point is āḥ, and not the artificial group āṁḥ which is unpronounceable. Mahāvairocana-sūtra (T848 iii): A single sound spreads out in the four places and penetrates all the Levels of Essence, omnipresent as Space; the Mantra says: a, ā, aṁ, aḥ. I-hsing's commentary on the Mahāvairocana-sūtra (T1796 xi): The letter *a* produces three letters; say, a total of four lettters. These four form but one which is Omnipresent.

These Five Revolutions of the *a* correspond to the degrees of ascension of the Spirit of Enlightenment, from the cause to the effect: to the first (*a*) of the five points corresponds the Production of the Spirit; to the second (*ā*) the Practice; to the third (aṁ) the Enlightenment; to the fourth (aḥ) the Nirvāṇa; to the fifth (āṁḥ or aḥ) the Culmination of the Means. Compare I-hsing's commentary on the Mahāvairocana-sūtra T1796 i: (1) The Spirit produces Enlightenment, (2) arms itself with all the Practices, (3) sees the Correct Complete Enlightenment, (4) proves the great Nirvāṇa, (5) produces the Means. It is thus that the Spirit adorns and purifies the sphere of the Buddha, from the cause to the effect, one is attached to the Spirit alone.

Moreover, these five Revolutions of the Spirit are made to correspond with the "three phrases" of the Mahāvairocana-sūtra (T848) as follows: Production of the Spirit=Cause; Practice=Root; Enlightenment=Nirvāṇa, and Means=Culmination.

Lastly, we find in Amoghavajra and Śubhākarasiṁha the following systems of correspondences (Bukkyōdaiji-i 27-29):

SYSTEM OF AMOGHAVAJRA

Points	Revolutions	Directions	Buddhas	Elements (Indian list)	Elements (Chinese list)	Organs (Indian list)	Viscera (Indian list)	Seasons	Colours	Forms	Notations
a	Cause (Production of the Spirit)	Centre	Vairocana	Earth	Earth	Body	Spleen	Heatwave	Yellow		
ā	Practice	East	Akṣobhya	Void	Wood	Eye	Liver	Spring	Blue		
aṁ	Proof of Enlightenment	South	Ratna-sambhava	Fire	Fire	Ear	Heart	Summer	Red		
aḥ	Entry (into Nirvāṇa)	West	Amitāyus	Wind	Metal	Nose	Lungs	Autumn	Black		
āṁḥ	Mean	North	Amogha-siddhi	Water	Water	Tongue	Kidneys	Winter	White		

SYSTEM OF ŚUBHĀKARASIṂHA

a	Cause	East	Akṣobhya	Earth						Square	Deepest heart
ā	Practice	South	Ratna-sambhava	Fire						Triangle	Impassioned Mind
aṁ	Proof	West	Amida	Water						Circle	Mind
aḥ	Entry	North	Amogha-siddhi	Wind						Semi-circle	First Five Notations
āṁḥ	Mean (Substance of the Levels of Essence)	Centre	Vairocana	Void						Sphere	Immaculate

In the *system of Amoghavajra,* Revolutions begin at the centre of the circle occupied by Vairocana whom he thus establishes as principle of the Production of the Spirit, cause of all the Revolutions. He bases himself therefore on the doctrine of the "immediate Immanence of the Truth" (in Beings) (*Sokujinishin*), of the "original Enlightenment" (*hongaku*), the Revolutions being considered in the descending sense (*hongakugeten*) from Buddha to the Profane. The symbolism of the correspondences is explained as follows: (1) The central Buddha, Vairocana, corresponds to the Land element, since the Vajrasattva is immanent in all Beings (and from whom the Production of the Spirit proceeds) is the Substantial Nature which produces the Buddhas, just as the Earth is the base which supports and maintains the Substantial proper to all Beings. (2) Akṣobhya corresponds to the Practice, because each Practice of Circle (maṇḍala) is Absolute, all Practices being furnished in a single Practice and this immanence of the Absolute being signified by the name Akṣobhya "the Immobile". Akṣobhya corresponds to the void because, like space, he contains all Beings. He is also called (that is to say he is identified with the Buddha of the Garbhadhātu called) Ratnaketu/Hōdō, because all Practices are firmly implanted in the Absolute, like staffs (ketu). (3) Ratnasambhava, who represents the Proof of the Enlightenment, corresponds to Fire, because the Knowledge of the Equal and Absolute Nature of the Essences burns, like fire, the error of the differentiation of things and of the Spirit. It is also called King of Flowers in Bloom (Kaifukeo, Saṁkusumitarāja), the Enlightenment being compared to a flower in bloom. (4) The correspondence of Amitāyus to the Entry into Nirvāṇa and to the Wind is explained by alluding to his voice teaching the Essence which, like the wind, overturns the Passions and produces the Attainment of the Enlightenment. (5) Amoghasiddhi, corresponds to the Accomplishment of the Means and to the Water, because he presides over the section of the Acts/Karma of the Vajradhātu, and the productive knowledge of Acts, or Plenitude of the Knowledge of the Means, is like water which espouses the form, square or round, of the recipient. His name "Attainment of the Non-Void" implies that the Knowledge of the Means, permitting the teaching of the Essence for the benefit of Beings, is neither void nor in vain. It is also called Sound of Thunder of the Celestial Tambour (Tenkuraion, Divya-dundubhi-megha-nirghosa).

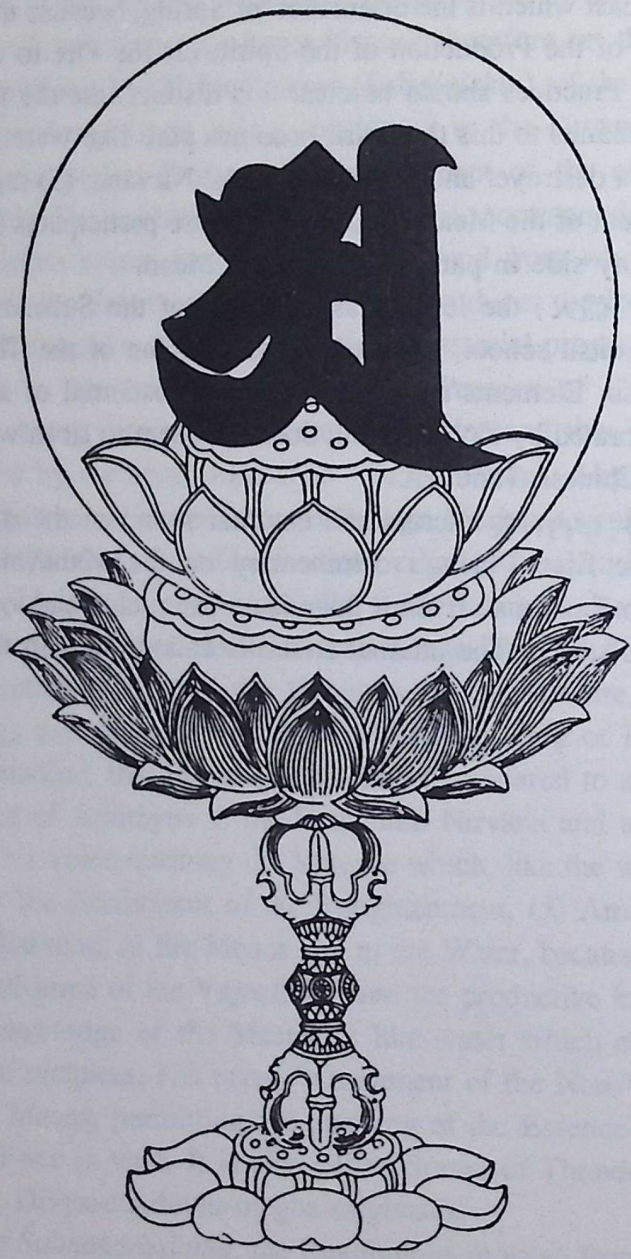
In the *system of Śubhākarasiṁha,* the Revolutions proceed from Akṣobhya in the East in order to climb towards the central Vairocana, who represents, not the initial Production, but the final Mean. Contrary to that of Amoghavajra, this system is therefore inspired by the doctrine of "the initial Enlightenment produced by the Practice" (*shikaku*), the Revolutions being considered in the ascending sense, from the Profane to the Buddha.

The symbolism of correspondences also difffers from that of Amoghavajra: (1) the Land corresponds to the East which is the orientation of Spring, because this season is the first, like the Revolution of the Production of the Spirit; (2) the Fire to the Practice, because all the innumerable Practices should be clear and distinct like the fire; (3) the Water to the Proof, because thanks to this the Spirit becomes pure like water; (4) the Wind to the Entry, because it is a destroyer and extinguisher like Nirvāṇa; (5) the Void to the Centre, to the accomplishment of the Mean, because the centre participates in the four directions without falling to any side in particular—like the Mean.

Ajitaidai 阿字體大, the letter *a* as Element of the Substantial of all Essences, doctrine of the Taimitsu school, opposed to the doctrine of the Tōmitsu school called Rokudaitaidai, the six Elements as Element of the Substantial of all the Essences. The latter doctrine, elaborated by Kōbō Daishi, does not seem to fit in with the data from the canonical texts of Chinese Tantrism.

Ajinaigesho 阿字內外聲 internal and external sound of the *a*, the second being a manifestation of the first. I-hsing's commentary on the Mahāvairocana-sūtra (T1796 xvii): *A* is internal and external. Even if there is no external sound, one cannot be without the internal sound of the *a*. The internal sound is called the *a* in the throat.

(Adapted from the Hobogirin)



अ in the calligraphy of Kakuban (AD 1095-1143), emerging from a pristine white eight-petalled lotus, situated on the adamantine plane of the vajra. The sound symbol *a* अ is prime among all letters and the supreme immutable: *akṣarāṇām akāro 'smi* (Gītā 10.33).

Oṁ calligraphed by the Japanese monk Chōzen in the 17th century

14. TAMIL SOUND-SEQUENCE OF THE JAPANESE ALPHABET

As a child of nine I was introduced to the Japanese *kana* alphabet in 1936, and ever since, its precise origin has been a question-mark. It is a syllabary of 50 sounds, plus the supernumerary final *n* which is pronounced *un* in Japanese. The entire alphabet, known as *Gojūondzu,* runs as follows:

a	*i*	*u*	*e*	*o*
ka	*ki*	*ku*	*ke*	*ko*
sa	*shi*	*su*	*se*	*so*
ta	*chi*	*tsu*	*te*	*to*
na	*ni*	*nu*	*ne*	*no*
ha	*hi*	*fu*	*he*	*ho*
ma	*mi*	*mu*	*me*	*mo*
ya	*yi*	*yu*	*ye*	*yo*
ra	*ri*	*ru*	*re*	*ro*
wa	*(w)i*	*(w)u*	*(w)e*	*(w)o*
un				

That it originates from an Indian sound-sequence is evident *prima facie,* but there are divergences in sequence and lacunae when compared with the Nagari alphabet. This has misled scholars, for instance, S. Yoshitake: "Seven years ago Mr. E. Pagel answered the question: 'Was wissen wir von den Lauten des altjapanischen? (Pagel 1926:345) It is

universally recognized that the so-called Gojūondzu, the table of fifty Japanese syllabic sounds, was modelled on the arrangement of Devanagari alphabet. The two schemes agree, but for a few divergences. The Japanese syllables with *s-* occupy the line which is given for *c* [*ts*] and *j* [*dž*] in the Nagari scheme. This does not seem to Mr. Pagel any definite proof that the Japanese *s* was pronounced *ts* at the time when the table was made, because the line *c* may just as well have been filled up with *s* for sake of completeness." (Yoshitake 1934:2).

The Japanese alphabet shows two major statistical analogies with the Nagari alphabet:

(i) Both comprise 50 sounds, though they are different in each of them, as against 30 in Tamil which has 12 vowels and 18 consonants. (Pope 1926:6§II. The alphabet)

(ii) The Nagari alphabet as written in Siddham in Japan is:

a ā i ī u ū ṛ ṝ ḷ ḹ e ai o au aṁ aḥ

ka	*kha*	*ga*	*gha*	*ṅa*	*ca*	*cha*	*ja*	*jha*	*ña*
ṭa	*ṭha*	*ḍa*	*ḍha*	*ṇa*	*ta*	*tha*	*da*	*dha*	*na*
pa	*pha*	*ba*	*bha*	*ma*	*ya*	*ra*	*la*	*va*	
śa	*ṣa*	*sa*	*ha*	*llam*					

The Nagari alphabet has five letters in each of the gutttural (*ka*), palatal (*ca*), lingual (*ṭa*), dental (*ta*) and labial (*pa*) classes of mutes. As only some sounds of each class existed in Japanese it was not possible to adopt the Indic system wholesale. But the structural exterior of 'five' was retained in the Japanese framework: *a i u e o, ka ki ku ke ko,* etc.

Besides a desire to reflect a broad external resemblance to Nagari, the quinary division represents the Five Tathāgatas of the Shingon school: Vairocana (centre), Ratnaketu (east), Saṅkusumitarāja (south), Amitābha (west), and Divyadundubhi-meghanirghoṣa (north). As the Japanese alphabet was invented by Kōbō daishi the founder of Shingon, it was bound to be influenced by Shingon concepts. The alphabet was an instrument for understanding the transcendental, causeless and infinite. The invocation in the *Hizō hōyaku* 'The Precious Key to the Secret Treasury' by Kōbō daishi seeks refuge in the alphabet as the dharma-maṇḍala (Hakeda 1972:162 n.23):

[I take refuge] in the Silent One,
Ka [evolving], *Ca* [involving], *Ja* [majestic],
Ta [Suchness], *Pa* [Truth], and *Ya* [Vehicle].

'The Silent One' stands for Mahāvairocana. *Ka* is *kārya* 'action', *Ca* is *cyuti* 'falling', *Ṭa* is *ṭaṅka* 'pride', *Ta* is *Tathatā* 'Suchness', *Pa* is *paramārthasatya* 'the ultimate Truth' and *Ya* is *yāna* 'vehicle—the absolute Vehicle on which all are being carried'.

The external resemblance of the Japanese and Nagari alphabets ends here. Now let us cite the Tamil alphabet:

Vowels: *a ā i ī u ū e ē ai o ō au*

Consonants: *k ṅ c ñ ṭ ṇ t n p m y r l v ṟ ḷ ṟ* (*tt*) *ṉ*

(i) The Japanese vowels correspond precisely to the Tamil vowels except that they do not express length and hence are five only. In the consonantal system too Japanese follows Tamil exactly, omitting of course those sounds which did not exist in Japanese: *ṅ ñ ṭ ṇ l ṟ l r*. We get the following correspondence:

Tamil: *k ṅ c/s ñ t n p m y r l v ṉ*

Japanese: *k - s - t n h m y r - v n*

(ii) "Equally notable is the fact that the syllables with *g-*, *d-*, *b-*, and *z-* are not found in the Gojūondzu, although the corresponding Sanskrit syllables appear in the Nagari scheme. One explanation is that the Japanese *g, d, b,* and *z* came into existence from *k, t, p,* and *s* under certain conditions, and are therefore secondary to their voiceless counterparts" (Yoshitake, 1934.3). The representation of the voiceless and voiced consonants by the same grapheme in Japanese is again due to Tamil where *ka* stood both for *ka* and *ga*. The Japanese made an innovation by adding the double apostrophe to the voiceless letter to express the voiced, e.g. *ka* and *ga*. Japanese *chi* and *ji* (with the addition of the 'double apostrophe') is paralleled by Tamil where *c* after *ñ=j*. The Japanese *t/d* and *p/b* also go back to Tamil.

(iii) In Tamil *c* also expresses the sibilants of Sanskrit: Tamil *cani*=Skt. *śani*. In Japanese *ti* was palatalised to *chi* and it served the phonetic functions of *c*. As the Tamil alphabet had no sibilant and *c* stood for Sanskrit sibilants, there was no choice for the inventor of the Japanese alphabet but to locate Japanese *s* in the locus of Tamil *c*, as he wanted to follow the Tamil sequence in detail. The lack of this rationale of the placement of *s* in the Japanese alphabet has complicated the understanding of historical development of Japanese phonology. "That this table of the fifty Japanese syllabic sounds was first made on the model of the arrangement of Devanagari is hardly dubitable. In these two schemes we find that the Japanese syllables with *s-* correspond to the Sanskrit syllables with *c* [*ts̆*] and *j* [*dž*]. It is, of course, impossible to conclude from this alone that the Japanese *s* was pronounced [*ts̆*] in the tenth century as some scholars seem to believe, for it may simply be for convenience that the author of the Gojūondzu placed the *s-* syllables in that particular position, as Mr. Pagel has already pointed out". (Yoshitake 1934:52).

(iv) "It is now a well-established fact that the modern Japanese [*h*] is of labial origin. It goes back to an earlier labio-dental voiceless fricative [*f*] or a bilabial voiceless fricative [F], which seems to have evolved from [p] ..... Our problem is: How was this consonant pronounced in the seventh-eighth centuries A.D. ? Was it [F], [f], or [p] ? As the list of Man-yō-gana shows, it is represented by the Ancient Chinese as embodied in the Ch'ieh-yün *p-*, *p'-*, or *b'-*, the sound *b* being lacking in Ancient Chinese. This does not tell us the exact nature of the Japanese consonant beyond the possibility that it was not [*h*]". (Yoshitake 1934:46-47).

In Japanese *m* is preceded by *h* which stands in place of Tamil *p*. In Japanese a superscript circlet is affixed to *ha* for expressing *pa*. When a 'double apostrophe' is added then *ha* becomes *ba*, which makes it clear that modern *ha* stands for an earlier *pa~fa*. For the *p~h* phenomenon, Caldwell says: "Tamil and Malayalam are destitute of the sound of *h*... In Modern Canarese *h* is regularly used as a substitute for *p*, as is sometimes the case in Marathi; but ancient Canarese agrees in this particular with Tamil". (Caldwell 1961:147).

(v) The Tamil alphabet ends with *n*, which is invariably used as a final (Caldwell 1961:131). It is interesting that the Japanese alphabet also ends with the final *n*, which is pronounced *un* in Japanese to indicate that its position in a syllable can be only at the end. The Japanese alphabet of 50 sounds closes with *wo*, and *un* at the end is supernumerary. So also the final *n* is excluded in the count of 30 letters of the Tamil alphabet. The final nasal is affixed even to the last letter of the Siddham Nagari alphabet *llaṃ*. *Lla* stands for the lingual *l* which in some of the Vedic texts takes the place of *ḍ* between two vowels (Whitney 1950:19§54).

The sequence of Japanese graphemes followed the Tamil in all fidelity. There were Japanese sounds (*g, b,* etc) for which they could have evolved specific graphemes but this was precluded by the plan to remain parallel to Tamil. The Japanese alphabet had to evolve diacritics to express sounds like *g, j, d* which were fundamental to the language. Why did the Japanese adhere to the Tamil model, when they knew Siddham Nagari and were even more conversant with it. The reason may be found in the fact that the Japanese alphabet was created by Kōbō daishi the founder of the Shingon sect, which was initiated in the East Asia by Vajrabodhi of Kanchi. In southern India, the Tamil alphabet was used for the Tamil language and Grantham or Siddham was employed for writing the religious texts in Sanskrit. It gave rise to a differentiation of the secular and sacred scripts. This dichotomy seems to have been carried to China by Vajrabodhi who must have used Tamil for secular purposes and Siddham for writing mantras. This can provide a reason for

Kōbō daishi's modelling of the secular Japanese alphabet after the Tamil, which should have been transmitted to Kōbō daishi by his master Huikuo who bequeathed all the "objects which were left to me by my master [Amoghavajra]" (Yoshitake 1934:30). Amoghavajra (705-774) was the "chosen disciple" of Vajrabodhi (d. 741) who arrived in Canton by sea in 720 from South India. Vajrabodhi's father, a brahmin, was a teacher of the king of Kanchi (Chou 1945:272-3). The Pallava kings of Kanchi were famous for their patronage to learning, and by their efforts Kanchi had become one of the seven sacred cities of India. Kanchi was the prime city of learning (*nagarīṣu Kāñcī*) and its contributions to the interflow of culture to East Asia are pervasive. Bodhidharma of the royal family of Kanchi introduced Dhyāna (Jap. Zen) Buddhism to China in the fifth or sixth century (Fontein/Hickman 1970:xiv, 49-51). In the years 501-507 Dharmaruci of South India had translated three texts from Sanskrit into Chinese (Nj 111). In AD 693-713 Bodhiruci, a brahmin of South India, translated 53 Sanskrit works into Chinese and he died in his 156th year in AD 727 (Nj 150). The tradition of South Indian teachers visiting and working in China was continuous and in this train Vajrabodhi played a major role by introducing Vajrayāna to China, whence it was transmitted to Japan where to this day it is a dominant sect and it has contributed richly to Japanese culture in manifold ways. Vajrabodhi was responsible for the introduction of yoga tantras. At that time it was the supreme development of tantric thought and practice with an intricate philosophical system. So Vajrabodhi was naturally given the deepest esteem and all his legacy was highly venerated. He must have bequeathed the Tamil alphabet of which no physical evidence has been traced so far in East Asia nor has any reference in chronicles or hagiographies been noticed, but which can be deduced positively from the arrangement of sounds in the Japanese alphabet. Perhaps, in the near future some scholar will find references in the Sino-Japanese tradition to attest this hypothesis.

At the beginning of the Heian period (794-) education was limited to children of families above the fifth rank, and nothing was done for the children of common folk. It was Kōbō daishi who opened the Institution of General Arts and Wisdom (Shugei Shuchi-in) near the Toji monastery at Kyoto, for children of the common people. Education was imparted both in secular and sacred subjects. Kōbō daishi thus democratised education in Japan. It is no wonder that he was prompted to evolve a simple Japanese *kana* alphabet from complex Chinese ideograms for promoting education. His knowledge of Indian phonetics was the inspiration. He had learnt Sanskrit from Prājña (AD 733-?, came to China in 782) and Muniśrī* (AD ?-811), and the Tamil sound system should have been transmitted from Vajrabodhi to Amoghavajra to Huikuo to Kōbō daishi. The cor-

respondence of the Tamil and Japanese sound-systems is no accident and it deserves further study. It will open up new avenues in the reconstruction of the ancient pronunciation of Japanese and may shed welcome light on Kalgren's reconstructions of Archaic and Ancient Chinese.

YU: the seal of the Okuno-in or the samādhi of Kōbō Daishi at Koyasan

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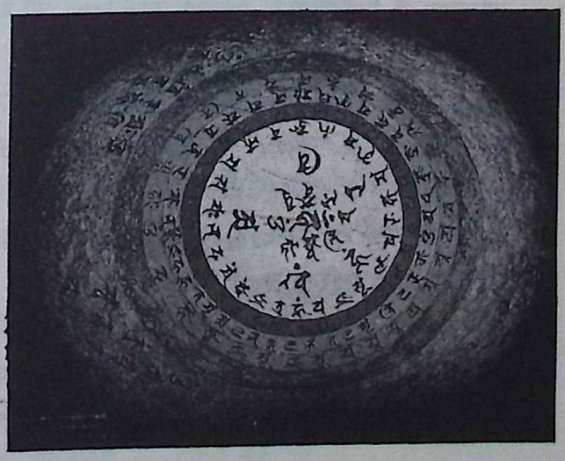
*S. Yoshitake 1934:33. The dates are from Ninkaku Takata, The relations between esoterism and the Tathāgata-garbha theory as seen in the Shou-hu-kuo-chieh-chu-dharani-ching, *Indogaku bukkyogaku kenkyū*, Tokyo 1961, 19(2).34. Seishin Kato, Kobo-daishi and the Japanese culture, in *Footsteps of Japanese Buddhism, Part II (The Shingon Sect)*, Tokyo 1937, pp.30-31.

१५. जापान में सिद्धंनागरी

आधुनिक जापान का हृदय अपनी संस्कृति से भरपूर है। जापानी भाषा उसकी अस्मिता है, उसको परिश्रम सिखाती है, उसे अपनी ऐतिहासिक उपलब्धियों से जोड़ती है। यद्यपि जापान में औद्योगीकरण की चरम सीमा है, तथापि उसकी ऐतिहासिक परंपराएं, उसकी शतियों की प्रतिध्वनि वहां के जन-मानस में एक अलौकिक प्रतिभा और शाश्वत प्राणसंचार करती है। यह कल और आज की सृजनशील संगमस्थली एशियाइ मानव को चुनौती देती है। उसे देखने समझने के लिए सितम्बर १९७० में जापान की यात्रा की, वहां के विश्वविद्यालयों, संग्रहालयों और विहारों के अनखुले भंडारों में खोज करने के लिए । जाते ही तोक्यो के एक छोटे से मंदिर में ठहरे। यह पिताजी (आचार्य रघुवीर जी) के शिष्य डा. यामामोतो की पत्नी के भाई का मंदिर है। इनका शुभनाम भिक्षु शुको साएकी है। यह कोम्योइन् नामक मंदिर मन्त्रयान संप्रदाय का है, जिस संप्रदाय में मन्त्रों के गंभीर अध्ययन की परम्परा रही है। इस मंदिर की मुद्रा भी संस्कृत में है। इसकी लिपि नागरी का पूर्वरूप सिद्धम् है जिसका जापानी 'शित्तान्' उच्चारण करते हैं। यह सिद्धंनागरी जापान की पुण्य मन्त्रलिपि है। आर्य शुको साएकी का मंदिर में ही घर था और निर्वाह के लिए उन्होंने बच्चों की पाठशाला खोली हुई थी। प्रति प्रातःकाल बच्चे अवलोकितेश्वरी देवी को धूप, नैवेद्य आदि समर्पित करके पढ़ाई आरम्भ करते थे। पाठशाला की बस पर चारों ओर किरणों का आलोक बिखेरते हुए वज्र अंकित थे। सायं आर्य शुको साएकी से मंदिर की आर्थिक व्यवस्था पर चर्चा हुई। उन्होंने अनेक प्रकार की सूचना दी। पर सबसे रोचक थी कि वे समय समय पर अपने भक्तजनों के लिए संस्कृत के मंत्र लिखकर देते हैं जिनके लिए अच्छा शुल्क मिल जाता है। जापान में मन्त्र सिद्ध पुरुष ही लिखते हैं जो इसके लिए साधना करते हैं और तूलिका से विशिष्ट सौन्दर्य का अभ्यास करते हैं। आर्य शुको साएकी ने हमारे लिए भी एक मंत्र लिखकर देना स्वीकार कर लिया। अन्दर से हाथ का बना कागज और मसी (स्याही) लाए। दो बार तूलिका से अभ्यास किया। आप जानना चाहेंगे कि क्यों। मन्त्र के एक बड़े अक्षर को रूखे पत्र पर लिखने के लिए एक ही बार मसी लेनी

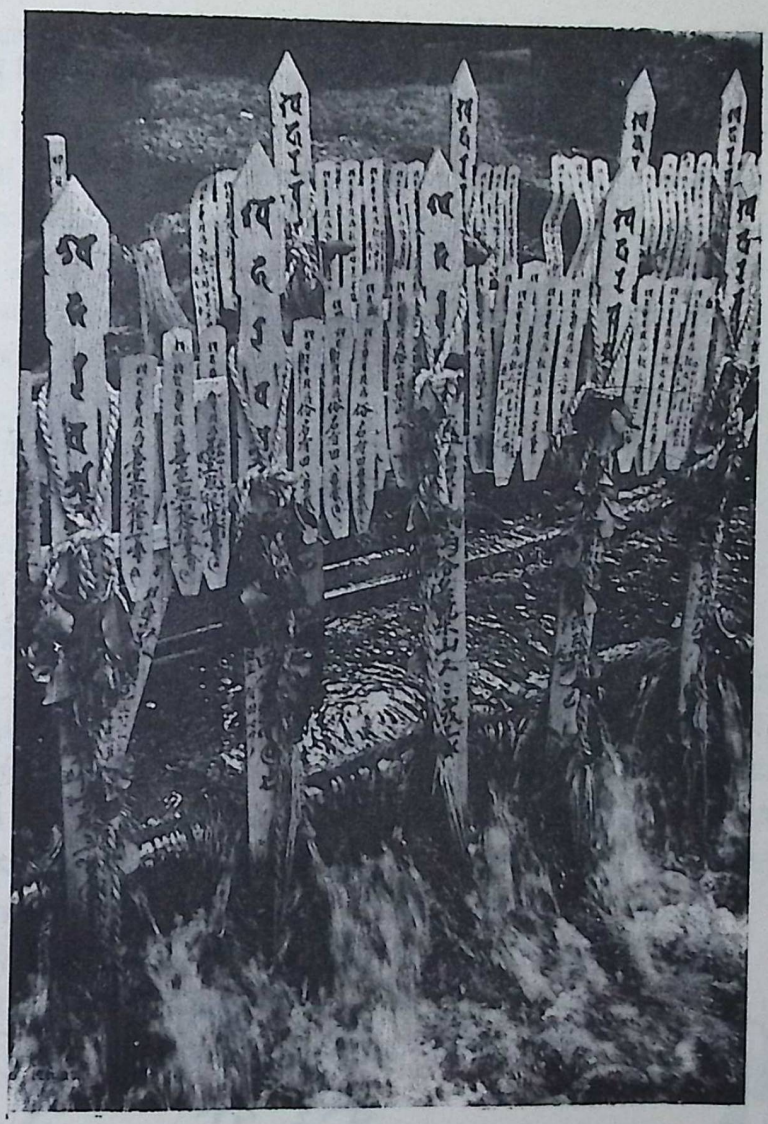


चाहिए और उतनी मसी से ही संपूर्ण अक्षर लिखा जाना चाहिए। यदि बीच में मसी लेनी पड़ जाए तो अक्षर खंडित हो जाएगा। खंडित मूर्ति की भांति वह पूजा के अयोग्य हो जाएगा। अक्षरों का सुसंमित आकार और अखंडित मसी का समन्वय अभ्यास-गम्य है। अब आप कल्पना कीजिए कि आर्य शुको साएकी ने हमारे लिए क्या लिखा । आश्चर्य करेंगे – 'ओं स्वाहा'। इसका परिमाण तीन फुट लंबा है। भव्य है, पावन है। पार्श्व में इसका एक छोटा सा चित्र है। चित्र में मूल की गरिमा और साधना की अमित ज्योति का अनुमान करना कठिन है। आर्य शुको साएकी हमारे लिए मंत्र लिखकर हर्षमग्न हो गए और ऊंचे से हसने लगे – 'जापान से भारत मन्त्र जाएगा।' कुछ क्षणों में गंभीर होकर बोले – 'यह आपके पुण्यश्लोक पिताजी (आचार्य रघुवीर जी) के लिए है। जब आप फिर जापान आएंगे तो दूसरा मन्त्र दूंगा जो कि हाथ करघे के कौशेय से मंडित होगा और वह प्रभापट वस्तुतः कलाकृति होगा।'

जापान के एक प्रसिद्ध मंदिर का नाम मुरोजी है। इसका निर्माण आठवीं शती में हुआ था। पर्वतों के निर्जन वातावरण में साधना का केन्द्र रहा है। इसके उपवन की शोभा तडाग है जिसका आकार नागरी के 'वं' के समान है। मन्त्रयानी साधना में 'वं' वैरोचन देवता का बीजाक्षर है।

नगरों से दूर, इतिहास के गह्वर में परिवर्तनशील राजधानियों से परे, कोयासान् मन्त्रयान का महापीठ है। यहां किसी युग में ५०० मंदिर और विहार थे। आज भी १०० से अधिक हैं और भक्तों के लिए तीर्थराज है जहां सितम्बर में श्राद्ध तर्पण के लिए भीड़ रहती है। इस अवसर पर बन्धुजन दिवंगत पितरों के नाम लकड़ी की पट्टिकाओं पर लिखकर मन्दिर के विशिष्ट जलप्रपात में तर्पण करते हैं। ये नाम भिक्षु सिद्धंनागरी में तूलिका से लिखते हैं। मैंने भी सितम्बर १९७० में पिताजी का श्राद्ध तर्पण इसी प्रकार किया। दो काष्ठपट्टिकाएं लिखवाई जिनमें से एक तर्पण के लिए प्रयोग की गई और दूसरी साथ ले आया। पट्टिका के एक ओर नाम है और दूसरी ओर 'आ वि र हूं खं' लिखा है। कोयासान् के कोम्योइन् मन्दिर के प्रांगण से नदी बहती निकलती है। इस पर तर्पण पट्टिकाएं लटकाने का विशेष प्रबन्ध है जिससे जल सिंचन सतत हो सके। इसका चित्र अगले पृष्ठ पर है।

कोयासान् में विश्वविख्यात आचार्य कोबोदाइशि की समाधि है जहां दस हजार दीपकों की अखंडज्योति १२०० वर्षों से प्रदीप्त है। यहां जापान के अनेक सम्राट्, कवि, मनीषी, आचार्य, भिक्षु और रंकों की समाधियां हैं जिनका काल विस्तार १२०० वर्ष है। ये समाधियां चैत्य के आकार की हैं जिसके चौकोर, गोल, अर्धचन्द्र आदि विभिन्न आकारों के पांच खण्ड हैं जो पंचतत्वों के प्रतीक हैं। नीचे से ऊपर 'अ व र ह ख' अलग–अलग खण्डों पर सिद्धंनागरी में लिखे रहते हैं। ये पांच अक्षर पांच तत्वों के प्रतीक हैं और ख आकाश है। इन पांच अक्षरों का पूर्ण मन्त्र है 'आविर हूं खं' जो इस धरा पर मानव के हृदय में दैवत्व का अवतरण और आविष्करण (आविर) के लिए महामन्त्र है। इन चैत्य समाधियों को गोरिन्तो कहते हैं। नीचे से ऊपर की ओर ये क्रमशः पृथिवी, अप्, तेज, वायु और आकाश का प्रतिनिधान करती हैं। अन्त होने पर शरीर पंचतत्वों में विलीन हो जाता है। उसी का यह मूर्तरूप है। आज तक गोरिन्तो समाधियां बनती हैं। इस प्रकार हम देखते हैं कि शैशव में जापानी बालक आ ई ऊ ए ओ वर्णमाला का पाठ करता है और अन्त में गोरिन्तो में उसके पार्थिव अवशेष सिद्धंनागरी से पुनीत होते हैं।



कोयासान् नगरी की दुकानों में घूमा और चकित रह गया। अन्दर जा कर देखा कि सिद्धंनागरी में पूजा-पुस्तकें मिल रही हैं। मंदिर में पूजा सुनी थी, यह भी जाना था कि यह संस्कृत में हो रही है। आप भी सुन लीजिए। उसके अंतिम बोल थे –

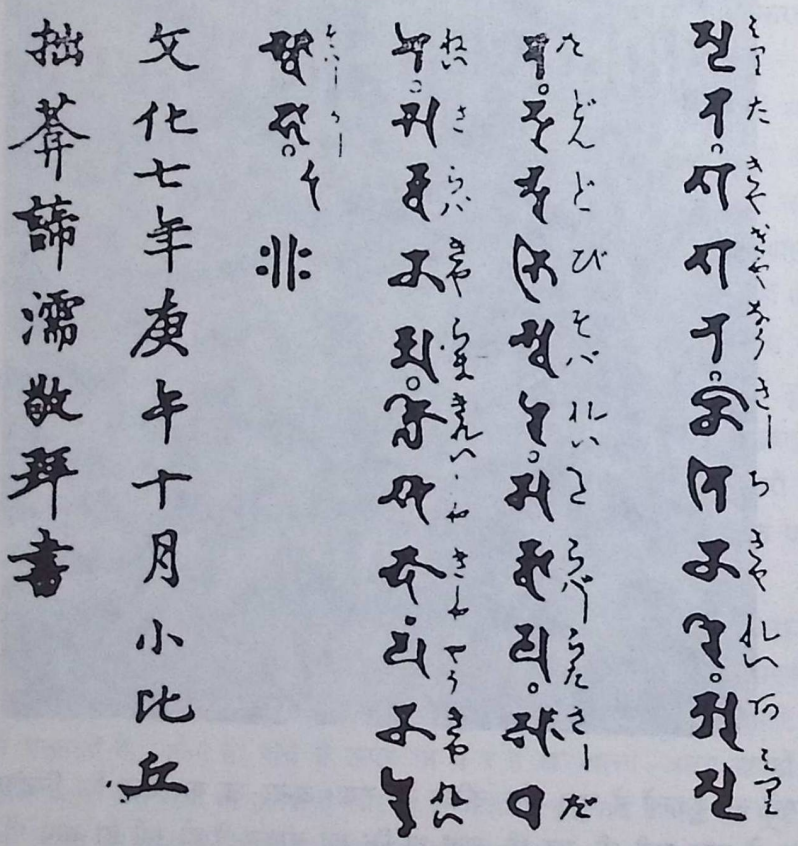
आमिरिता ग्याग्यानाइ कीचिक्यारेइ आमिरिता दोन्दोबि सोबारेइ

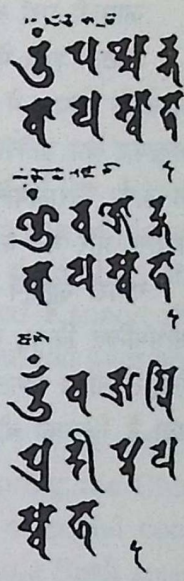
साराबाऽराता साऽदानेइ साराबा क्यारामा किरेइशा कियायान् कियारेइ सोबाऽकाऽ॥

कल्पना कीजिए कि संस्कृत है। पर कैसी संस्कृत। अंतिम प्लुत सोबाका स्वाहा का जापानी उच्चारण है। कोयासान् की सिद्धंनागरी में लिखी पुस्तक देखते ही ऊपर के बोल जापानी स्वरलहरी से संस्कृत बन गए –

अमृत-गगन-कीर्तिकरे अमृत-दुन्दुभि-स्वरे सर्वार्थ-साधने सर्व-कर्म-क्लेश-क्षयंकरे स्वाहा॥

यह जान हर्षाभिभूत मैंने यह लंबी पुस्तिका ले ली। इसके अंतिम पृष्ठ का चित्र नीचे है। आप पढ़ने का प्रयत्न कीजिएगा तो सिद्धंनागरी दूरपरिचिता प्रतीत होने लगेगी।





जापान में मन्त्रयान के बारह हजार (१२,000) मंदिर हैं। कुछ ऐतिहासिक हैं, कुछ निष्क्रिय हैं और कुछ सक्रिय हैं। ग्रामों और नगरों में बिखरे हैं। सूर्योदय से पहिले कुछ मंदिरों में घी से होम होता है जो संस्कृत मन्त्रों के उच्चारण से सम्पन्न किया जाता है। इनमें कुछ मन्त्रों का चित्र नीचे दिया गया है। यत्न कीजिए और आप पढ़ पाएगें कि 'ओं वज्रोद्भवाय स्वाहा। ओं वज्राग्निप्रदीप्ताय स्वाहा' लिखा है। यह पुस्तक लंबी ही लंबी चलती जाती है। यह वर्तमान जापान में नागरी की एक झलक है।

आपको यह जानकर विस्मय होगा कि संस्कृत की सबसे पहली गुप्तकालीन हस्तलिपि जापान के होर्यूजी मंदिर से मिली थी। यह उष्णीषविजया-धारणी है। यह उस युग की है जब जापान के अशोक, शोतोकु ने (सन् ५७४-६२१) सर्वप्रथम संविधान की रचना की और बहुजनहिताय बहुजनसुखाय के सिद्धान्त की विजय इस धारणी से सुस्थिर की। यह पोथी संस्कृत में सुललित लेख में है और जापानी शासन द्वारा सुरक्षित राष्ट्रीय निधि है।

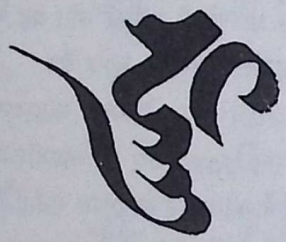
जापान की वर्णमाला काताकाना और उसका प्रवाही रूप हीरागाना कहलाता है। इसके आविष्कारक आचार्य कोबो दाइशी थे जिनका काल सन् ७७४-८३५ है। कश्मीर-वासी आचार्य प्राज्ञ से इन्होंने सिद्धंनागरी सीखी। आचार्य कोबो दाइशी ने कोयासान् के शान्त पर्वतांचल में अपना आश्रम बनाया और जनता के हित अनेक कार्य किए। नागरी वर्णक्रम के आधार पर जापानी वर्णमाला की रचना की। इसको 'गोजुओन्' अर्थात् '५0 ध्वनियां' कहा। इसका आरम्भ है -- आ ई ऊ ए ओ, का की कू के को आदि। कोबो दाइशी के समय तक केवल सामन्त परिवार ही शिक्षा पाते थे और दुरूह चीनी लिपि में लिखते थे। कोबो दाइशी ने सामान्यतम जनता के बच्चों को पढ़ाना–लिखाना आरम्भ किया और इसके हेतु हीरागाना वर्णमाला की रचना की। जापानी शिक्षा पद्धति में यह क्रांतिकारी पग था। आज तक प्रत्येक जापानी कोबो दाइशी की इस अनुपम देन से अपनी शिक्षा प्रारम्भ करता है जिसका आधार कोबो दाइशी की संस्कृत के प्रति अगाध श्रद्धा थी।

कोबो दाइशी ने जापान में संस्कृत-निष्ठ मन्त्रयान का प्रवर्तन किया, अनेक संस्कृत हस्तलिपियां संग्रह कीं, और संस्कृत मन्त्रों एवं बीजाक्षरों द्वारा जापान के मानव की श्रद्धा का आविर्भाव हुआ। आज भी जापान में देवताओं की प्रतिमा अथवा पट के अभाव में उनका बीजाक्षर लिखते हैं। बीजाक्षर साधना के प्रतीक हैं। बीजाक्षर लिखना सिखाने के लिए आज तक पुस्तकें छपती रहती हैं। कुछ वर्ष पहले ही 'बोनशु शित्तान् शुजी रूइशू' नामक पुस्तक छपी है। इसमें लक्ष्मी का बीजाक्षर 'श्री' पार्श्व में लिखा है। बीजाक्षर बड़े आकार में और लकड़ी से बनी लेखनी से अभिव्यंजक वक्रिमाओं और ओजपूर्ण खिंचानों में सुदृढ हाथ से लिखे जाते हैं। इनके लेखन–सौष्ठव की पहचान भी कुछ वर्षों के निजी अनुभव से ही की जा सकती है। बीजाक्षरों का सुलेखन अभिव्यक्ति है, कला है, संस्कार है, साधना है।

जापानी घरों के बाह्य द्वार पर भी सिद्धंनागरी के कवचमन्त्र दिखाई देते हैं।

आठवीं शती में नालन्दा विश्वविद्यालय के आचार्य शुभाकरसिंह ने बीजाक्षर 'अ' पर ध्यानयोग की परम्परा चलाई। आज के जापान में यह 'आजिकान्' के नाम से प्रचलित है। आजिकान् का अर्थ 'अकारध्यान' है। अकार अनादि, अज, अनुत्पाद का प्रतीक है। इसके रंगीन छपे हुए ध्यान-पट जापानी घरों को पवित्र करते हैं। शुक्लवर्ण अष्टदल कमल के ऊपर विराजमान सुनहरी रंग के 'अ' का लेखन किया जाता है। प्रत्येक पूरक और रेचक में 'अ' के मौन जप से तन और मन को पवित्र कर, साधक सूक्ष्म 'अ' को विश्व में व्याप्त और वैरोचन में विलीन पाता है।

नागरी जापान के शैक्षणिक विकास में ऐतिहासिक क्रान्ति की नींव बनी, जापान के प्रथम संविधान को इसने अभिमन्त्रित किया, पालने से जीवन के अंतिम चरण तक संस्कारों को मन्त्रपूत करती आई है, और जापानी जन के लिए लीलामय जगत को बोधि के कैवल्य में आलोकित करती है। सिद्धंनागरी साधना की सिद्धि और मानस की पारमिता प्रज्ञा है जिसका बीजाक्षर है 'ज्ञा'–



('शूजी रूइशू' नामक ग्रंथ से प्रज्ञा का बीजाक्षर 'ज्ञा')

16. JAPAN : THE MULTI-LAYERED CATALYST BETWEEN EAST AND WEST

To the Toyo University, to Director Dr. Hajime Tsuboi, and to other colleagues a thousand thanks of a pilgrim from the Western Regions/*siyu* to the Land of the Rising Sun, that is me, with a bagful of gratitude, as I wonder at Daikoku with his bag of plenty. In Buddhism, thousand has been power, strength, might, sturdiness, durability, the enduring and lasting attribute. Like the Thousand-armed Thousand-eyed Kannon the University continues to endow the youth of Japan with the vision of a thousand eyes and the effectiveness of a thousand hands.

On the joyous occasion of the centenary of the University, may I wish a full-throated *banzai* from the deeps of time. The word *banzai* originated during the Chin dynasty (255-207 BC) in China and reflects the rhythms and cadences of social consciousness. The temporal unity of past, present and future has always been a fresh lease of life in Japan. Time is the link between human generations and a cyclical perception of the phenomenon of Life. On the other hand, the instant, the eternal present confers plenitude and felicity (Abhinavagupta). In Japan not a single action has been wasted in history, nor is it without repercussions. The basic tenets of the Toyo University intimately link action and time, in a pattern of universal validity. In Japan I sense that time reflects the fullness of being, beyond the emptiness of abstraction, and at this spring I seek to drink in the spirit of poet Toyotomi Hideyoshi:

When tea is made with water drawn from the depths of Mind
Whose bottom is beyond measure,
We really have what is called *cha-no-yu.*

We raise this cup of tea from our deeps to the centenary of the Toyo University.

Mr. Enryo Inoue, the distinguished founder of the Toyo University, summoned his people to shape blood to beauty. The malleable minds of Japan are human steel that induces the earth to rejoicing. The entire country is a masterpiece in perfection, an artefact that time has shaped with slender hands of silence. The Toyo University, *inter alia*, wings the nation with exaltation of action, with solid deeds, with thoughts that take shape and shun indolence. Mr. Inoue the moving spirit of the University, clear in his configurations, has stirred young minds not only to think and to know, but above all to act. His words have clothed the potency of life with the wonder of deeds. Young Japan for centuries has been a poem rich in achievements, cherishing the crystal clarity of action. No thick blanket of words, but an open mind, seeing eyes and working hands that

have wrought marvels. Such is the legacy of Mr. Inoue. Creative hands are more exuberant than muscled minds. Inoue-san's trinity of rationalism, creativity and identity-in-globalism has invoked the fire of roots and the magnetic power of performance. Train your mind and find reasons for things, stress facts instead of abstract ideas i.e. cultivate creativeness, and base Nipponism on universalism: these are the three deep-reaching muscles of the mystery of the Japanese wonder. The Japanese form and flexibility can belong to all alike—that is what the encounter today can mean to the tomorrows, to transform the radiance of centuries bygone into a moving future that will be a lovely blue. Work is the essence, the essentials of essence, the embodied hope of humans: a message that I carry back to my land, the Land of Śākyamuni. The Japanese have the *nari-giri* (literally bear or kill) charm for the fructification of a tree. Early on a January morning, two persons repair to an orchard, one with a hatchet and the other with a bucket. They go to all the trees in the orchard one by one. The hatchet-holder says to the tree after a few cuts on its trunk: "Will you bear fruit this year, or I will cut you down?" The bucket-carrier pleads for the tree: "O yes I will bear fruit in plenty. Please excuse me". The tree has to produce. This is the whispered response of action coming to green life. In Japan R & D (Research and Development) is R & P (Research and Production), an affair with work, hard work, where work lends lustre to the strong architecture of development.

The living tissue of life in Japan is reflected in every throbbing exercise performed by eager and sensitive hands, so much akin to the noble art of calligraphy wherein lines move and evolve from form to function, from purpose to passionate spontaneity, from communication to creativity.

Through Japanese life run the threads of an outward explosion and an inward implosion. The inner life moves in peace, serenity and meditation. The outer manifestation is stress and action. The Bodhisattvas take on two aspects: the one calm, serene, and benevolent and the other dynamic, passionate and terrifying. The ritual rhythms and symbolic behaviour converge, and become movement, action, miracle of achievement in a frenzy of merciless precision. The intangible perfume and the indefinable hue of the Japanese spirit create a modernisation that resists Westernisation. The Meiji restoration was cradled in the idea of *wakon yosai* 'Japanese spirit and Western technology'. The technological developments during the Showa years were fundamentally anti-Western in spirit. Japan is more modernised than Westernised, while the Philippines is more Westernised than modernised. Does a Westerner feel his eyes assuming an almond shape and his thoughts becoming Zen simply because he drinks tea? The adoption, diffusion and development of inventions have become the unequivocal 'we' of Japan. There is no

veering of the Japanese mind toward the West, but a slight movement towards a neutral territory. 'Me' is the miracle. The Sanskrit word for miracle is *camatkāra* which originates from *ca mat* 'and mine, and mine'. It is the coming together of me and creativity. The word *camatkāra* refers to the remarkable *camaka* hymn of the Yajurveda. It is an affirmation of life, the substantiality of existence, which is to be attained by every me.

Buddhism with its many gods and goddesses represents pluralism, which is going to be the new sensibility. It is the openness to multiple forms of reality. They are the many structures of meaning and being in which we constantly live. No universal proposal for human meaning can come up: the depths can be lived out of the rag bag of the many. Pluralism gives depth, a resonance of the transcendant function. Buddhism teaches an acceptance of the variousness of ourselves and of others. Buddhism announces and owns expanding consciousness, a new humility in the diversity of our modern existence. Contemporary life can have no fixed horizons, fences, boundaries. The emerging pluralistic universe seeks relevance in polytheism to purify, perfect and ennoble our existence. In polytheism man's free thinking and many-sided thinking has the power to create for himself new and individual eyes, always newer and ever more individualized.

Zen Buddhism with its distrust of words was in tune with the ideographic system of kanji. Its aim was direct experience without the mediation of words. The quest for wordless truth in Action has been the spirit of Zen Buddhism. It has sunk deep in the national consciousness.

Japan inherits the sonority of being in her images of both Shinto and Śākyamuni. They are the vital impulse, the dynamic essence of Japanese life, its flowing onwards. The ecstasy of the newness of the image reverberates to the profound depths of the entire existence of Japan. The intense life of language in Japan favours the thesis of language-as-reality as against the thesis of language-as-instrument. This is found in the intimacy of the kanji. Take the ideogram for peace: *an* 安 peace, tranquility'. It is formed of two elements "to be still like the woman 女 in the house 宀 ", or as the commentary says: "without grave reasons the woman does not leave the house". The kanji for 'prosperity, profit' *soku* 息 is the second element in 媳 'daughter-in-law, bride' (2). In India too we have the word *gṛhalakṣmī* 'prosperity of the home' for a bride. Woman is prosperity. Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu speaks of 'peace and prosperity' in the region. The kanji for both have the feminine element. Being the first university in Japan to admit women, the Toyo University has honoured the roots of meaning and being in Japanese reality. It is a trans-valuation of the validity of time in everyday lives to infuse the new in the eternal. Words are clamour-filled shells. Waves of silence vibrate in them. The 'We Japanese'

have listened to the deeps 'in us' and have become the 'Unlimited man' (*homme illimité*). The Japanese have instinctively delved in themselves, and in the words of the French poet Jules Supervielle they are:

Sensitive inhabitants of the forests of ourselves.

(Habitants délicats des forêts de nous-memes).

The Sun-Goddess Ama-terasu-O-mi-Kami or "Heaven-illuminating Great August Deity" is the ancestress of the Imperial Family. She makes Japan a peerless queendom of the world. The mirror *yata no hagami,* used to lure the Sun Goddess from the cave, is said to have been given to the Emperor Jimmu and it is one of the three objects forming the Regalia of Japan. She is frequently represented as standing on a rock with two attendants of white horses. Pebbles and rocks are reflected in a poem of a thousand years ago in the Kokinshu, which became the national anthem Kimigayo in the last century.

The feminine principle of the divine is *hannya-haramitsu* or prajñāpāramitā, the heart of the transcendental, the fragrance of the beyond. The Heart Sutra (Shingyo) has been hummed for centuries and till our day devotees find in it the climax of existence. The root-word of the highest frequency in this sutra is *budh* 'to awaken, to be illumined'. Awakening, intelligence, insight, wisdom are the path of this sutra. It is to fathom the depth in you, to penetrate to the heart, the essence of life. The goddesses in Buddhism are *prajñā* 'insight, wisdom' or *vidyā* 'knowing, learning', the subtle potentialities of life. The illusion-destroying power is a Woman, the Earth-Goddess. Gautama is beset by hosts of Māra under the Tree of Enlightenment. Gautama is *unmoved* by the malicious onslaught of Māra, but the Earth Goddess *moves*. Shaking in six different ways, she disperses the hosts of Māra. Gautama becomes the Buddha, the Enlightened One. The Toyo University echoes the timeless ages of Japan in admitting women who constitute half of society. How can any society progress, without their wisdom. Among the Six Great Poets of the ninth century is Komachi, a celebrated beauty, received at the Imperial Court in the brilliant assemblage of poets and literary men. She had a mind illumined by poetic fire. In the year 816 Japan had a long drought. Komachi was implored to invoke rain for the famished land by the power of her poetry. As she recited her poem "how shall we live without the rain of Heaven?" rain poured. By admitting girls to its portals, the Toyo University has given birth to millions of Amakoi Komachi "Rain-asking Komachi's". I hail this University which dedicates itself to women to get up from among the broken glass, for the time has come to make things whole again.

The first great novel of Japan, if not of the world, was written by a woman in Classical Japanese. Lady Murasaki wrote the 'Tale of Genji' in AD 1004 in the Hiragana

script. In Japan, women were not permitted to write Chinese ideograms till the ninth century. As every being is a potential Buddha in Buddhism, a special form of abbreviated Chinese characters of gana was invented which could be used by women. The Goddess of Great Eloquence/Daibentenjin is immediately followed by Kichijoten or Śrīdevī who bestows all kinds of wealth and felicity upon the faithful, in the Golden Light Sutra 金光明經 (Konkōmyō Saishōōkyō). Her gifts to mankind are gold, silver, jewels, raiment, food and abundant crops. The Toyo University realised long ago that just as stones set in a carpet of moss await the bare feet of a goddess, so the emergence of every woman has to be the metabolism of the advance of new Japan. The essence of a new but very important process has been initiated in the Land of Amaterasu-Omikami.

That the phenomenal is the real is deeply rooted in Japanese tradition, according to Prof. Hajime Nakamura. The Japanese want to be modern with their bodies, but with roots reaching back to myth and to the noumenal. No wonder, the education of women carries the vital fluids from unknown streams of ancient notions, cults and rituals. The prime role of women goes back to Lord Śākyamuni himself. The Buddhist Tripiṭaka narrates: 'When the Buddha was once at Śrāvastī, the Kosala King Prasenajit came to visit Him. One of the king's men arrived and, approaching the king, announced to his private ear that Queen Mallikā had given birth to a daughter. The king was not pleased. Discerning the matter, the Buddha uttered:

A woman child, O lord of men, may prove
Even a better offspring than a male.
For she may grow up wise and virtuous."

The Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa focuses on a goddess who resides in Vimalakīrti's house. She playfully engages the eminent disciple of the Buddha himself Śāriputra in a battle of wits. In an engaging display of satire and illusion, she eloquently wins her case. 'The 勝鬘經 Sutra of Queen Śrīmālā' is another instance, among others, in the Buddhist tradition of its egalitarian view concerning women. It portrays the dignity and wisdom of a laywoman on the one hand, and the role of woman as a philosopher and teacher on the other.

We all live in a stream of history and it conditions our cultural imagination. The symbolic equipment of Japan is conditioned by Clio, the Muse of History. Yet her cultural cosmos is enticing in its openness and this has aided cultural modernism. Japan has always been ready to acknowledge obsolescence and to adapt to changes. The regnant idea has been continuous transformation.

In the beginning of our century, Okakura Kakuzo waged a heroic struggle to prevent the wholesale destruction of the cultural heritage of Japan in the orgy of the foreignism sweeping the country. Yet, he spoke of the cup of humanity. The East and the West are not so apart, or in the words of Okakura: "humanity has met in a tea-cup". Nipponism in a stream of universalism is inherent in the many waves of Shinto, Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism that have flowed to make up what Japan is.

The mytheme of living is its solidarity with all life, even with the Gods. Man is not alone in the universe, but the nexus with all beings and material things. He has to go beyond his individuality in his desire for transcendance. The existing aspects of life have ever to be integrated into a new myth that has ever to unfold. The deeper meaning lies in the absent mythemes. The human plenitude is beyond socio-economic parameters. Absence is the challenge that liberates us from human inertia. Absences symbolise possibilities, and their causes or reasons perceived give birth to the modern man, man of the moment. Peoples of the world cease to be isolated fragments. Human history fast becomes the history of mankind. It endangers the diversity of social structures (plural) and varying forms of consciousness. The structure, power, history, emotion and language of the many merges into a global ideology, reality and pragmatism. Intellectual innovation suffers in the absence of social belief and values without the patina of diversified historical personalities. Our immediate concern is to understand and evaluate the fate of cultural modernity which lacks the ever-moving manifoldness of time, minds and lands. Creativeness can be cultivated where many currents flow, tempering the rigidity of the ageing past into the fluidity of the unborn future. Cultivation of cultural identities in all their pluralism becomes more and more sacrosanct for human creativity.

17. BUDDHISM AS THE CREATIVE VISION OF KOREA

Korea, the Land of Morning Calm, found its sense of being and eternity sixteen hundred years ago when Buddhism gave her a new meaning. Buddhism became civilisation for Korea. In its first energy and freshness it filled the country with benefits, nourished art, diffused education, made roads, established resting places, promoted beneficence and multiplied comforts in a thousand forms. A humane system of morals and of aspirations to nobility, it made vivid and tangible the presence of a profound social and cultural order. The high water-mark of Korean civilization was reached under Buddhism. Come to mind the words of the great poet Basho:

Ah! the grass and the wind!
And here among these stones
The shadow of a dream.

The eternal plane became the earthly plane. The quest for Enlightenment supreme became the flying banner of perfection that has conditioned Korea's miracle during the last four decades. Buddhism became the interior world whose individual roots went back to one's infancy and social roots were embedded firmly into the centuries. It coloured all thoughts and feelings, decisions and actions. A Korea torn from the spiritual soil of its being by dominating Western influence is now moving beyond them. The European world itself has glimpsed the limits of modernisation. The post-modern era means cultural development beyond the contradictions of traditionalism and modernism. Access to tradition, understanding the assimilable positive in the European model and to move beyond into the creativity of the new will become a major cultural instrument that interacts with a living future. Buddhism lives like a flower in Korea, which is its earth and sky, its home, its humanised immensity.

Buddhism was absorbed by East Asia from missionaries of diverse ethnic and linguistic origins, especially in the early period. In the second and third centuries, eighteen foreign missionaries were active in China: four were Indians, four Indo-Scythians, three Parthians, four Sogdians, and three Khotanese. Thousands of scriptures, five codes of monastic discipline of five different schools, bewildering rituals stimulated diversity in Chinese thought. Focus on devotionalism in Pure Land Buddhism stood in sharp contrast to the radical rejection of the validity of the scriptural teaching in Sŏn Buddhism in its wordless intuitive way to Enlightenment. Patronisation of Buddhism by some non-Chinese dynasties tended to political polycentrism vis-a-vis imperial unification of Confucianism. Confucianism catered to an elite, while Buddhist ideas with their devo-

tionalism were part of popular religion. Monasteries provided basic education at the grass root level. In the Yin Yang system women represented darkness, but they became nuns in Buddhist monasteries and permeated society. Buddhism merged into the East Asian systems and enriched the East Asian lands spiritually and materially. Buddhism was officially introduced to Korea during the period of the Three Kingdoms: Koguryŏ received it in 372, Paekche in 384, and Silla in 527. It brought with it an advanced culture and provided a unifying political force to each kingdom.

Buddhism became naturalised in the East Asian context to such an extent that the Platform Sutra attained the status of 'sutra', a term for classics spoken by the Master himself. In this Sutra, Hui-neng proclaimed the universality of Buddha-nature: "Although people are distinguished as northerners and southerners there is neither north nor south in Buddha-nature". He wrote:

The mind is the tree of Perfect Wisdom.
The body is the clear mirror.
The clear mirror is originally clear and pure.
Where has it been affected by and dust?

Our age with its overwhelming stresses and rocketing consumerism needs calm and discipline which can come only from Buddhism: "Meditation is acheived when one is externally free from phenomena and calmness is achieved when one is internally unperturbed. Meditation and calmness mean that externally meditation is attained and internally calmness is achieved".

Sŏn Buddhism has its distrust of words. Its aim was direct experience without the mediation of words, and Korea has silent workers and noiseless machines.

The intellect has to be sobered and softened by cultivation through non-cultivation in the tradition of Sŏn masters. Behind all solemnity is the sportive play of nature which becomes the heart of Sŏn in its simple subtlety.

Devotional Buddhism of the Pure Land and other related forms add 'other-help' to 'self-help', develop salvation by grace besides by effort. Doctrine, discipline and devotion become the flourishing fields of the Buddhist world-view. Appeal to and dependance on Amiṭābha Buddha to deliver beings replaces the emphasis on inner contemplation. The paradise of a gracious and loving Amitābha Buddha becomes the expectation of the faithful. The importance of right attitudes and the danger of false values is stressed. Dhammapada, a collection of sayings, reflects Buddhism in simple profundity:

"For hatred does not cease by hatred at any time; hatred ceases by love: this is an old rule".

"They who imagine truth in untruth, and see untruth in truth, never arrive at truth but follow vain desires".

"The virtuous man delights in this world, and he delights in the next; he delights in both. He delights and rejoices; when he sees the purity of his own work".

The ideal of the Bodhisattva embodies compassion, a readiness to assist others and help those in distress, to render all kinds of service. They strive to win the affection of all creatures, and in their modesty they are aware: "As it is not possible for any bird to reach the confines of the sky, so it is not possible for any man to comprehend the good qualities of the self-becoming Buddhas".

Suffering or duḥkha arises out of the realisation that man can never fully find himself. Eternity is vaster than moments of time: the rustling breeze of Buddhist fragrance has awakened the sensitivities of our peoples to the ideal of the Bodhisattva. Collective life can transcend individual death. Such is the ideal of the Bodhisattva. The Bodhisattva says: "The whole world of living beings I must rescue, from the terrors of birth, of old age, of sickness, of death and rebirth, of all kinds of moral offence, of all states of woe, of the whole cycle of birth-and-death, of the jungle of false views, of the loss of wholesome dharmas, of the concomitants of ignorance". The selfless love, the infinite compassion, the universal redemption of the Bodhisattva alone can free men and nations from hate, fear and insecurity of existence. Through the last twentyfive centuries Buddhism has spread the message of understanding and resolution, communion and compassion, in fact a universal human loyalty, a new horizon and a paradigm of a new universe.

The lay ideal is enshrined in the Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa. It was translated from Sanskrit into Chinese by Kumārajīva in the fourth century AD. Ever since it has influenced all the countries of East Asia. It identifies saṁsāra and nirvāṇa. As the two are one, a person can be free from ills by a re-evaluation of the world, and not by withdrawing from it. It depicts the ideal lay person, Vimalakīrti, who rendered benefit to all beings.

Buddhism arose as a spiritual force against social injustice, and advocated the equality of all men irrespective of their birth. It gave spiritual freedom to women. The welfare state created by the Buddhist emperor Aśoka is an outstanding example of the spirit of its perennial teachings. In the Aṅguttara-nikāya the Buddha says: "He who has understanding and great wisdom does not think of harming himself or another, nor of harming both alike. He rather thinks of his own welfare, of that of others, of that of both,

and of the welfare of the whole world. In that way one shows understanding and great wisdom". The individual self merges into the continuity of life. The dying words of the Master to Ānanda were: "We are leaves fading while the tree lives. Be then, O Ānanda, your own Lamp. Be your own Refuge. Cling to the Lamp of Truth, that is Sincerity"

The translation of thousands of Buddhist sutras from Sanskrit to Chinese produced a profound effect on the intellectual creativity of East Asia. The inner space of man, reflected in the myriad mirrors of the written ideogram, evoked a deep response from the people. The need to multiply the written word was imperative. In moments of unknowing at long last man was on the threshold of proto-technology of printing. The texts had to be multiplied for recitation and hundreds of thousands of mantra scrolls had to be deposited in the temples of the realm. Buddhism gave birth to printing. It flourished as an integral part of Buddhist requirements of vast quanta of printed mantras for ensuring their grace of liberation, and also for mass scale distribution of sutras by the bereaved descendants so that their deceased parents may acquire full merit. The 81,258 printing blocks of the Korean Tripitaka done for the defence of the country, preserved in the Haein-sa temple, are a marvel of Korean technology and national will. It is important for the excellence of its editing and for its beautiful block-printing.

In the latter part of the seventh century Shul-ch'ong invented the Yi-do script to denote case-endings in the margin of Chinese texts. It was to aid the reader in Koreanising the system of the Chinese sentence. At first he composed eight case-endings, that is, nominative, accusative, intrumental, dative, ablative, genitive, locative, and vocative. He probably based them on the Sanskrit case-endings. His father was a great Buddhist scholar, and he must have taken his help. The book *Kyun yu Chun*, written in AD 1075 says: "The Yi-do resembles the Sanskrit in its inflections". In 1446 the sage-like emperor Seijong invented a new Korean alphabet and moveable printing types. This alphabet continues to this day as the Han-keul or "Proper Writing". Dr. Kei Won Chung in his dissertation to the Princeton University says that the Korean alphabet was composed on the principle of the Sanskrit alphabet. With the new alphabet, learning became accessible to a large mass of people.

The great Korean pilgrim to India, Hyecho translated a hymn to the Thousand-bowl Mañjuśrī in AD 741. It is still available and is one of the rare works of Korean scholarship accorded the honour of being canonised in the Buddhist Tripiṭaka. Buddhism contributed to the evolution of Korean literature, specially in prose. The Buddhist works were based on stories from the Buddhist canon. They were not merely translations but often new writings. Their tone is devotional, and in a strange way elusive. Their language

is both rich and direct. Their poems are inspired, and their narratives are interesting and detailed.

Alongwith Buddhism, Korea got her social and political institutions, arts and sciences from China. It led to remarkable development in painting, frescos, sculpture and architecture. Music and musical instruments evolved in Korea under Buddhist influence. Indian Buddhists served on the Imperial Bureau of Astronomy in China. In the seventh century three schools of Indian astronomy were prevalent at Ch'ang-an. They were headed by Gautama, Kāśyapa and Kumāra. Since 721, the Buddhist monk I-hsing adopted a new calendar based on Indian sources. He has the credit of inventing the first mechanical clock. The astrological influences of the nine planets resulted in special temples to them. All the learning was transmitted to Korea. The Korean Tripiṭaka preserves the *Ts'i yao jang tsai kiue* to avert evil influences of the seven planets. The Korean Tripiṭaka has medical texts on curing the diseases of children, pregnant women, and those that arise in meditation.

The Sokkuram is an outstanding monument of Korean architecture. From this rock chapel the pilgrim greets the Sea. It signifies the crossing over the sea of life to Bliss. Built as an act of filial piety to parents, it celebrates their absence, distance, dream and destiny. It is a pearl of East Asian cave temples in its overall planning. It enshrines the best Korean sculptures of all times.

In the Confucian world view of Yin and Yang, Yang signifies heaven, light, male, while Yin stands for earth, darkness, female. Yang is the superior or male principle and it produces Yin, the inferior or female principle of nature. Hence goddesses of Buddhism were replaced by masculine names and symbolic forms in the Chinese version of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala. On the other hand, women could not worship male deities. Hence the male Avalokiteśvara was replaced by the feminine form of the White-Robed Kuan-yin. She was originally the consort of Amitābha. In later times the female form of Kuan-yin dominated East Asia. In the long course of twentyfive centuries, in processes of its universalisation, Buddhism accorded rights to women long denied to them. Women have enjoyed freedom in Tibet, Thailand, Laos, Srilanka and other Buddhist countries as marriage was not a religious ceremony, and consequently not a sacrament but a social event. Feminine freedom goes back to Lord Buddha himself. On the very day of his enlightenment, Sujātā offered food in a golden bowl to the Buddha still seated under the Tree of Illumination. The positive attitude of the Buddha towards women "ranks as one of his greatest claims to fame as a benefactor of the human race". A prince by birth and at heart, he was for open attitudes, not a closed fist but an open hand, and a mind open to the logic of life.

The air of Korea is full of obscure menace. With the increasing integration of global goods markets, the world is on the threshold of a long-run economic boom. Besotted by Japanese economic conquest, the Americans have started joint ventures. They have larger stakes or higher scales than their major Japanese partner. The power balance within the company is shifting to the American subsidiary. Europe triumphantly enters its "Fortress 1992" to become the most powerful group in terms of finance and technological innovation. The Eurocentric "comeuppance', and "our European home" advocated by the Soviet leadership, pose a challenge to non-European systems, be they cultural, or economic, or political. The manipulation of symbols in the financial and technological segments will be the invisible but superpotent onslaught, a cause for grave concern. The question arises: will technology and economy conspire with Hegel, Heiddegger and Halbfass in the Europeanisation of the world, as they seek the self-representation and self-assertion of Asia in contexts created by Europe? Shall Asia understand the 'otherness' of the 'other' in shaping the real world? To Hegel, European thought was the measure of all things. As a rigorous critic of the Romantics, he disapproved of their contempt of the European present. Martin Heidegger refers to the "complete Europeanisation of the earth and of mankind". To Halbfass "the Europeanisation of the earth continues to be inescapable and irreversible". The "global restructuring" of industry and the universalisation of consumerism is fast becoming the gale of creative destruction.

The Korean environment of centuries seeks its essence in the spontaneity of the flowering of Buddhism. To Buddhists the land where they are living is a pure land, the Buddha-kṣetra, the Paradise. "Participation in realities" was a more widespread phenomenon than "ascetic life in mountains". The founder of the ancient state of Karak married a princess of Ayodhyā who arrived from India in AD 48 at Kimhae aboard a ship, along with her brother monk Bo-ok. She came with Buddhist statues and sutras. She established the national capital and named it Gaya. The Buddhist kingdom of Silla accomplished the unification of the Three Kingdoms and formed the nation-state of Korea for the first time in history. Ever since, Korean Buddhism was the destiny and defence of the land. Monk Wolkwang formulated the "Five Worldly Commandments" to form the basis of a national ethos. The 80,000 blocks of the Korean Tripiṭaka were the Buddhist omnipotence to repel the Mongolian invader. The three scriptures for defending the nation were the Lotus Sutra, the Heart Sutra and the Golden Light Sutra. In them dharma was the infrastructure of a strong national defence system.

Buddhism with its many gods and goddesses represents pluralism, which is going to be the new sensibility. It is the openness to multiple forms of reality. They are the

many structures of meaning and being in which we constantly live. No universal proposal for human meaning can come up: the depths can be lived out of the rag bag of the many. Pluralism gives depth, a resonance of the transcendant function. Buddhism teaches an acceptance of the variousness of ourselves and of others. Buddhism announces and owns expanding consciousness, a new humility in the diversity of our modern existence. Contemporary life can have no fixed horizons, fences, boundaries. The emerging pluralistic universe seeks relevance in polytheism to purify, perfect and ennoble our existence. In polytheism man's free-thinking and many-sided thinking has the power to create for himself new and individual eyes, always newer and ever more individualized.

The first ever Buddhist Broadcasting Station being inaugurated at Seoul is a historic step. It will be the imperishable rhythm of great meaning that is to illumine times to come.

Buddhism has kissed this world with compassion, enwoven light and love in the hearts of men, kindled lamps in the forlorn recesses of sombre shades of life, enlivened dead dogmas with logic, offered flowers and lit lamps in place of rituals of slaughter, tendered mercy to a dancing-girl when she lay under the shadow of a wall, struck with black pestilence, her body spotted with sores, a body once drunk with the wine of her youth. Buddha, the Prince of Peace, brought silence to the arid heart of men who ceaselessly run in furious chase of victory. From the surging centuries of noise rises the prayer of love immeasurable: "Let Buddha be my refuge".

石窟庵

18. GAṆḌAVYŪHA AND THE KOREAN CAVE OF SŎKKUR-AM

Introduction. The Pulguk-sa is the oldest surviving Buddhist monastery of Korea, founded around AD 535. It means: *pul* 'Buddha', *guk* 'land', *sa* 'monastery', a monastery that springs from the deeps of Buddhism, to celebrate the new dynamic and vital order that was to determine the whole tonality of Korean life. The most skilled workmen were summoned to make it a monument of restrained dignity and quiet peace. In the middle of the eighth century it was rebuilt and enlarged by King Kyŏngdŏk. The same master architect built the rock chapel of Sŏkkur-am a mile away, on the crest of mount Toham-san. From the rock chapel the pilgrim greets the Sea of Japan. It signifies crossing over the sea of life to Bliss. Built as an act of filial piety to parents, it celebrates their absence, distance, dream and destiny. It is a pearl of East Asian cave temples in its overall planning. It enshrines the best Korean sculptures of all times. They are reminiscent of the sculptural glories of T'ang China, and yet are unique in their ethereal quality. Superb examples of warm naturalism inspite of the hard medium of stone, they remain unsurpassed in East Asian lands. They sprout from the passion of everything that the eyes embraced, celebrating its essence in the eternity of stones: "There is a tradition that the sculptor who carved these bas-reliefs was in love with the King's daughter and used her as the model for the image of Kwanum/Avalokiteśvara in order to immortalize her beauty". (Ha 1972:386 n.4)

The piety of the patron and the tender love of the sculptor sinks into the silent rapture of these live sculptures in their kissed limbs, smiling in flowing drapery and deep solitude.

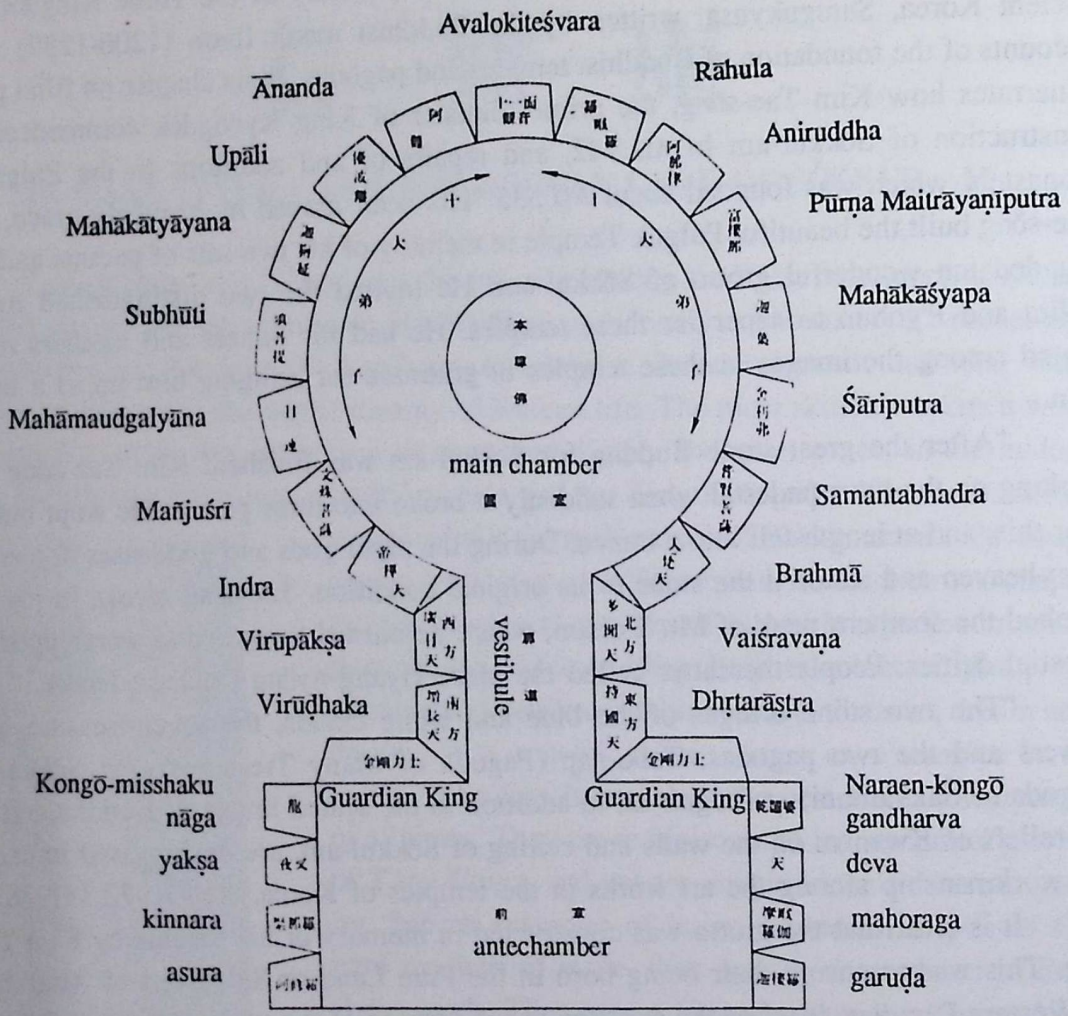
Construction of Sŏkkur-am. The legends and history of the Three Kingdoms of ancient Korea, Samgukyusa, written by the Buddhist monk Ilyon (1206-1289) gives accounts of the foundation of Buddhist temples and pagodas. In its chapter on filial piety, it narrates how Kim Tae-sŏng, the prime minister of King Kyŏngdŏk commenced the construction of Sŏkkur-am in AD 742, and repairs of and additions to the Pulguk-sa monastery which was founded about AD 535 "His heart moved by heavenly grace, Kim Tae-sŏng built the beautiful Pulguk Temple in memory of his two sets of parents and also founded the wonderful grotto of Sŏkkul-am. He invited the two distinguished monks Sillim and P'yohun to supervise these temples. He had his fathers and mothers represented among the images in these temples in gratitude for bringing him up as a useful man.

"After the great stone Buddha for Sŏkkul-am was finished, Kim Tae-sŏng was working on the lotus pedestal when suddenly it broke into three pieces. He wept bitterly over this, and at length fell into a trance. During the night gods and goddesses descended from heaven and restored the stone to its original condition. Tae-sŏng awoke in joy and climbed the southern peak of Mt. T'oham, where he burned incense and worshipped the celestial deities. People thereafter called the place Hyang-nyŏng (Incense Peak)...

"The two stone bridges of the blue and white clouds, the seven-treasure lotus flowers and the two pagodas, Tabo-t'ap (Pagoda of Many Treasures) and Sŏkka-t'ap (Pagoda of Śākyamuni) at Pulguk-sa, in addition to the seated image of Buddha and the bas-reliefs of Kwanŭm on the walls and ceiling of Sŏkkul-am, are unsurpassed in exquisite workmanship among the art works in the temples of Korea." (Ha 1972:381-382).

It is clear that the grotto was constructed in memory of his parents by Kim Tae-sŏng. This was to ensure their being born in the Pure Land or Sukhāvatī of Amitābha, his Western Paradise. It raises the question of the identity of the central statue of Sŏkkur-am.

Plan of Sŏkkur-am. The ground-plan of the Sŏkkur-am cave consists of a small open-sky rectangular antechamber which is joined by a narrow vestibule to the circular main chamber. It is a unique cave-temple with a domed ceiling. The plan is drawn below (HS. 2.35):



In the antechamber there are eight stone slabs on which the *hachibushū* or eight kinds of beings who protect Buddhism (JEBD.1965:95) are carved in low relief:

nāga	gandharva
yakṣa	deva
kinnara	mahoraga
asura	garuḍa

On the walls of the antechamber, facing the entrance, are the Two Guardian Kings (Jap. ni-ō) whose images appear on both sides of a temple gate: Kongō-misshaku on the left and Narean-kongō on the right. This custom of placing guardian deities at the temple gate began in India (JEBD.1965:221).

The vestibule has the Four Lokapālas on its walls, two on each side:

Virūpākṣa	Vaiśravaṇa
Virūḍhaka	Dhṛtarāṣṭra

The walls of the main hall bear fifteen images in relief on rectangular stone panels:

Indra		Brahmā
Mañjuśrī		Samantabhadra
Māha-maudgalyāyana		Śāriputra
Subhūti	Main Image	Mahākāśyapa
Mahākātyāyana		Pūrṇa Maitrāyaṇīputra
Upāli		Aniruddha
Ānanda		Rāhula
	Avalokiteśvara	

Atop the panels of the Arhats are ten deep niches with images of seated bodhisattvas. Two of the images have disappeared. Four of them have been tentatively identified as the layman Vimalakīrti holding a fan, Avalokiteśvara with a Buddha in his crown, Kṣitigarbha in monk's attire, and Mañjuśrī? facing Vimalakīrti.

Correspondence of Sŏkkur-am and the Gaṇḍavyūha. "In the middle of the eighth century, during the reign of King Kyongdok, Pulguk-sa (Temple of the Buddha Land) and the shrine of Sŏkkur-am were built by the Hwaom sect of Buddhism. The rise of this sect marked an important stage in the centralization that was taking place in the Korean political system. The Hwaom Sutra was an important group of religious writings first brought to Korea from China in the mid-seventh century. These scriptures honored a new Buddha, the Vairocana or Creating Buddha, from whom all others were thought to emanate. ... ...

"The ruling caste, first in Korea and then in Japan, saw an analogy between such a religious concept and a governmental system, the king being equated with the Vairocana and his officials with the minor Buddhist deities. In Japan, at the time that Pulguk-sa was going up, the emperor built the great temple of Todaiji and housed within it the Vairocana Daibutsu, which is still there in spite of several fires and numerous earthquakes. In 748 he decreed that the Avataṁsaka Sutra was to be the state scripture. In Korea, King Kyongdok made a similar effort to glorify his own position through patronage of the Hwaom sect. Both countries and their rulers were drawn into close connection

through this sect by means of the tie of international Buddhism. Hwaom (Kegon in Japanese) Buddhism became so important in these countries that the royal courts took from it many of their ceremonials, their new art forms, their literature, and their music". (McCune 1962: 92).

The scheme of the Sŏkkur-am pantheon corresponds remarkably to the Gaṇḍavyūha of the Avataṁsaka-sūtras. The Lord (Bhagavān, Gaṇḍavyūha 2.11) was staying in the Mahāvyūha kūṭāgāra (pavilion) in the Jetavana ārāma (monastery) at the city of Śrāvastī with 5,000 bodhisattvas led by Samantabhadra and Mañjuśrī. The Lord attained siṁha-vijṛṁbhita samādhi (6.13). The bodhisattvas of the ten directions assembled to witness the miracle:

page	*direction*	*name of the bodhisattva*
8	East	Vairocana-praṇidhāna-nābhi-raśmi-prabha
9	South	Duryodhana-vīrya-vega-rāja
10	West	Samanta-śrī-samudgata-rāja
11	North	Asaṅga-śrī-rāja
11	NE	Dharmadhātu-sunirmita-praṇidhi-candra
12	SE	Dharm-ārciṣmat-tejorāja
13	SW	Sarva-māra-maṇḍala-vikiraṇa-jñāna-dhvaja
13	NW	Vairocana-praṇidhi-jñāna-ketu
14	nadir	Sarv-āvaraṇa-vikiraṇa-jñāna-vikramī
15	zenith	Dharmadhātu-praṇidhi-tala-nirbheda

The ten seated bodhisattvas in the niches atop should be the above ten bodhisattvas. As in the niches, so also in the Gvy they are seated (*nyasīdat paryaṅkam ābhujya*, 15.14-15). The identification of the niche bodhisattvas as given by earlier scholars has to be reconsidered.

The great apostles (mahāśrāvaka, Gvy 17.22) Śāriputra, Maudgalyāyana, Mahākāśyapa, Revata, Subhūti, Aniruddha, Nandika, Kapphiṇa, Kātyāyana, Pūrṇa Maitrāyaṇīputra could not visualise the miracle of the Tathāgata at Jetavana, nor did they see the congregation of the bodhisattvas: "assembled there in Jetavana itself, seated in the very presence of the Lord, in front, at his back, left and right, why did they not see the miracles at Jetavana" (19.17-19)... And these great apostles..neither visualise nor know as they are devoid of the bodhisattva vision (*bodhisattva-cakṣur-virahitatvāt*, 21.2). The śrāvakas had to know the path of the bodhisattvas to partake of the emerging world: from the way of śrāvakas they had to progress to the course of bodhisattvas, i.e. from Theravāda to Mahāyāna. The ten Arhats on the walls of Sŏkkur-am are these ten mahāśrāvakas.

Revata, Nandika and Kapphiṇa have been replaced (?) by Upāli, Ānanda and Rāhula if the present identifications are correct. The bodhisattvas of the ten directions recite laudatory verses to enlighten the beings.

Samantabhadra thereafter proceeds to illuminate the meaning of the siṁhavijṛmbhita samādhi of the Lord (33.25). Mañjuśrī speaks gāthās highlighting all the miraculous deeds (43.2). He also refers to Brahmā and Indra (43.11). After his enlightening exposé, Mañjuśrī is praised and eulogised by Brahmā, Indra, and the kings of nāgas, yakṣas, gandharvas, kumbhāṇḍas, garuḍas, asuras, mahoragas, and Devas. Samantabhadra and Mañjuśrī, Indra and Brahmā, and the eight beings are carved at Sŏkkur-am. The identification of kinnara will have to be changed to kumbhāṇḍa.

Thus far we have the introductory basis of the Gaṇḍavyūha for Sudhana's quest for knowledge and his pilgrimage to 52 (*dvāpañcāśat* 548.21), 53 teachers (so numbered in the edition on p.549), or 54 in the Chinese tradition (which added the name of Fo-kuo as the 54th to make it half of the auspicious number 108:54 × 2 = 108, Lokesh Chandra 1975:63). At the end Gaṇḍavyūha (548.3...) categorises the basic pantheon (*sarvāvatī parṣat*, 548.8) as follows:

	headed by
bodhisattvas	Mañjuśrī
bodhisattvas of Bhadrakalpa	Maitreya
mahābodhisattva	Samantabhadra
mahāśrāvaka	Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana
loka	deva, mānuṣa, asura, gandharva.

From this analysis it is apparent that the Sŏkkur-am was planned to be the stereomorphic paradigm of the Gaṇḍavyūha. The pilgrimage of Sudhana has been so central and intrinsic to the Gvy that absence of its stone carvings is particularly striking. In ancient times it must have been painted on scrolls and hung in the cave temple (see further below).

Samantabhadra and Mañjuśrī "go in pairs and are the chief bodhisattvas in the Avataṁsaka conception of the world" (Suzuki 1974:161). Mañjuśrī went out from Pratiṣṭhāna to the human world and preached Mahāyāna. In the city of Dhānyakara, he perceived a handsome youth of noble family, Sudhana. He advised him to visit Sāgaramegha. Sudhana visited Sāgaramegha, who taught him and sent him on to another friend. "In this way he was sent from one friend to another until he had visited fifty-three. At last he came to Samantabhadra, under whose teaching he perfected his vow and entered into the Dharmadhātu (Supreme Reality). In this story of Sudhana, Samantabhadra plays the chief part as master" (Suzuki 1974:94-95). The last part of the Gaṇḍa-

vyūha is devoted to Samantabhadra's Ten Vows and his desire to be born into Sukhāvatī. This part is known as Bhadracarī. It is integral to the Gaṇḍavyūha. In a number of passages, the Gaṇḍavyūha emphasises that the vows and practice of the bodhisattva Samantabhadra are its summum bonum:

16.24 *Samantabhadra-bodhisattva-caryā-praṇidhāna-niryātāḥ*
44.02 *Samantabhadraiś carita-prakārair viśodhitāḥ*
527.25 *kathaṁ Samantabhadra-caryā-maṇḍalam avataritavyam*
528.12 *Mañjuśrīḥ kumāra-bhūtaḥ sarva-vimokṣa-nayeṣu avatīrṇaḥ Samantabhadra-bodhisattva-caryāyāṁ*
529.16 *Samantabhadra-caryā-maṇḍala 'vatarayitvā*

What is the ultimate wish of Samantabhadra? It is to visualise Amitābha face to face and to attain to his Pure Land of Sukhāvatī (*sammukha paśyiya tam Amitābham taṁ ca sukhāvatī-kṣetra vrajeyam* 547.18:st. 57 of the Bhadracarī). Thus the path is: Mañjuśrī→Samantabhadra→Amitābha. The culmination of the Gvy is the way of Samantabhadra and its consummation is Amitābha and His paradise of Sukhāvatī. The main image at Sŏkkur-am reflects a syncretic representation of Bhagavān [=Śākyamuni] as well as of Amitābha. His aspect as Śākyamuni is featured by the Ten Arhats and the Two Devas Brahmā and Indra. His manifestation as Amitābha is highlighted by Avalokiteśvara standing right at his back. As Amitābha, the ūrṇā on the forehead of the main image receives the first rays of the rising sun. Korean poems celebrate the splendour of this moment shimmering in divine light. The recitation of the Bhadracarī is immediately followed by and consummated in the recitation of Amitābha hymns, to this day in daily recitation at Korean monasteries of the Chogye order. The transition of Bhadracarī to the Amitābha hymn is natural, as it ends with *tena jagad...yātv Amitābha-purīṁ varam eva* (548.2 st. 62).

The unique iconography of Samantabhadra and Mañjuśrī at Sŏkkur-am. At Sŏkkur-am Samantabhadra holds a boxed manuscript, most probably of the Bhadracarī, symbolising his vow to attain the Paradise of Amitābha. I have checked the Indian, Indonesian, Nepalese, Tibetan, Mongolian, Chinese and Japanese traditions of the iconography of Samantabhadra and have not found him holding a manuscript. Mallmann (1975:331-335) too does not specify the manuscript as an attribute. This form must have been created to emphasise his association with the Bhadracarī which embodies his vow to go to the world of Amitābha.

The form of Mañjuśrī at the Sŏkkur-am cave is again unique. He holds a bowl in his hand. A form of Mañjuśrī with a thousand hands holding thousand bowls is known

from the Chinese text Ta-shêng (mahāyāna) yü-ch'ieh (yoga) chin-kang (vajra) hsing (prakṛti) hai (sāgara) man-shu-shih-li (Mañjuśrī) ch'ien-pei (sahasrabhuja) ch'ien-po (sahasrapātra) ta-chiao-wang (mahā-tantra-rāja) ching (sūtra), 大乘瑜伽金剛性海曼殊室利千臂千鉢大教王經 translated from the Sanskrit original by Amoghavajra into Chinese in AD 740 (Nj 1044, STP. 16.6378, K 1272, T 1177[a]). T 1177[b] is a hymn of 108 names of Thousand-bowl Mañjuśrī (Jap. kem-patsu Monju). This sūtra was studied by the well-known Korean monk-pilgrim to India Hyech'o. On the morning of 1 January 733 he was initiated into it by Vajrabodhi. Since 5 May 740 Hyech'o copied the text. After studying it for eight years, on 6 Jan. 741 he took up its translation as an assistant to his teacher Vajrabodhi. The plan was suspended in 741 on the death of Vajrabodhi. According to the will of Vajrabodhi the original Sanskrit sūtra was returned to India on 30 March 741. Thereafter Hyech'o went to Ta-hsing-shan monastery and studied the remaining part of the sūtra with Amoghavajra (Yang 1969:38).

The manuscript of Samantabhadra reminds us of the Vedas held by Brahmā in his hand (Daniélou 1964:237). Brahmā is the *pitāmaha* 'grand-sire'. The Lhasa xylograph of the Tibetan Bhadrakalpika-sūtra illustrates *Rgyal kun mes-po Kun-tu-bzaṅ-po* = Skt. sarva-jina-pitāmaha Samantabhadra 'Samantabhadra the grand-sire of all Jinas' (NTMP 16.3). The bowl of Mañjuśrī has a parallel in the drinking bouts of Indra. It should be noted that Indra with a pātra occurs in the RaghuVira manuscript of 108 Lokeśvaras: Indrapātra Lokeśvara is the 41st Lokeśvara. It is equivalent to Piṇḍapātra Lokeśvara in the other two series. The *lectio dificilior* Indrapātra was simplified to Piṇḍapātra. It is interesting to note that Indra and Mañjuśrī are placed on the right of the main chamber of Sŏkkur-am, while Brahmā and Samantabhadra stand on the left. The development of Brahmā and Indra of the early Pali Theravāda tradition into different iconographic forms under new names reflects the development of Buddhist sects which provided both the impetus and context. The situation can be tabulated as follows:

Theravāda	Brahmā	Śākyamuni	Indra
Amitābha-sūtra	Avalokiteśvara	Amitābha	Mahāsthāmaprāpta
Bhadracarī of the Avataṁsaka	Samantabhadra	Amitābha	Mañjuśrī

A detailed study of the transformations of Brahmā and Indra in the Buddhist sects is called for.

Popularity of the Avataṁsaka in Korea. It is important to bear in mind that the Avataṁsaka-sūtras (plural, not sūtra) are a collectaneum. They are not a single sūtra but a whole genre of texts spread over time. The loose translation of the Chinese character 卷 as chapters of the Avataṁsaka has given rise to the erroneous feeling that it is one large text. It comprises various texts of the Avataṁsaka class, which are designated 卷 in the Chinese Tripiṭaka. Moreover, in Chinese *ching* can be singular as well as plural: sūtra or sūtras. The Daśabhūmika, Gaṇḍavyūha and Bhadracarī of the Avataṁsaka circulated as independent works in China, as they did in India. The Gaṇḍavyūha occurs at the end of the Avataṁsaka, but that does not mean that it is final in the development of Avataṁsaka. The Gaṇḍavyūha is its oldest component (Fontein 1967:18) and as such it ends with the eulogy of Amitābha. In the Avataṁsaka, Rocana is the Supreme Buddha.

It is relevant to emphasise the popularity of the Avataṁsaka texts both in China and Korea, whence it was introduced into Japan. The partial and complete translations of the Avataṁsaka are detailed below:

AD 147-186 Tou-sha-ching 'epithets of the Buddha', transl. by Lokakṣema. Nj 102, T280, K90.
Equal to text 3 in Buddhabhadra's Old Translation (Nj 87)
Equal to text 7 in Śikṣānanda's New Translation (Nj 88).

373-395 Lo-mo-chia-ching = Gaṇḍavyūha, incomplete translation attributed to Shêng-chien. Nj 106, T294, K102.

418-422 First translation of the entire Avataṁsaka-sūtras, by Buddhabhadra. Nj 87, T278, K79.
Known as the Old Translation, Translation in 60 chüan.

685 Divākara retranslated part of the Gvy. to fill a gap in Buddhabhadra's translation. Nj 101, T295, K104 (gives the correct date AD 685). See Fontein 1967:176 n.14 for details of the gap.

699 Second translation of the complete Avataṁsaka, by the Khotanese monk Śikṣānanda. Nj 88, T279, K80.
Termed T'ang Translation, New Translation, Translation in 80 chüan.

798 Gaṇḍavyūha translated by Prājña. Nj 89, T293, K1262 (repeated twice: KS.16,52: this shows the popularity of the Gvy in Korea).

The Gvy was translated twice as a separate text and another time to complete the lacuna in Buddhabhadra's rendering. This is a clear proof of its high vogue in East Asia as the core of the Avataṁsaka school.

A century after the translation of the complete corpus of Avataṁsaka texts by Buddhabhadra, it became a full-fledged school of Buddhism. The first patriarch of the Avataṁsaka school was Fa-shun (557-640), followed by Chih-yen (602-668). The Korean monk Ŭisang (625-702) studied with the second patriarch. The third patriarch Fa-tsang (643-712) systematised the doctrines (Fontein 1967:17). Ŭisang founded the Avataṁsaka sect in the Korean kingdom of Silla alongwith monk Wŏnhyo (617-686). The story of these two monks is illustrated in the famous Japanese *Kegon Engi* scrolls (Fontein 1967:84). In 739 the Korean monk Simsang (d.742) was invited to lecture on Avataṁsaka at the Tōdaiji. He was a disciple of Korean masters Ŭisang and Wŏnhyo. The Japanese Avataṁsaka tradition considers the Koreans as its spiritual masters (Fontein 1967:78, 84). In 742 monk Dōji presented an embroidered Avataṁsaka scroll of Seven Places and Nine Assemblies to the Daianji monastery (ibid.78). The Tōdaiji owns a hanging scroll which depicts Sudhana and his kalyāṇamitras (ibid.87, 108...). Three points emerge from the foregoing discussion:

(i) Korea was prominent in the Avataṁsaka tradition in the seventh and eighth centuries, the period of the construction of Sŏkkur-am.

(ii) It was but natural that when Prime Minister Kim chose to create the Sŏkkur-am as an act of filial piety to his parents he should have chosen the latest popular school of the Avataṁsaka whose finale was a prayer to attain the Paradise of Amitābha. The blending of Amitābha devotion with Avataṁsaka learning had developed in the Bhadracarī (Fontein 1967:57, 63).

(iii) Sudhana and the kalyāṇamitras were depicted on scrolls in Japan, a tradition which must derive from Korea. The Sokkur-am should have had Sudhana and his kalyāṇamitras on scrolls.

The Avataṁsaka continued to flourish in Korea. Choe Ch'iwŏn (857-?) wrote the authentic biography of the third and the greatest of all Chinese patriarchs Fa-tsang (T2054, Fontein 1967:177 n.4). The Korean patriarch Ŭich'ŏn (1055-1101), the fourth son of the Koryŏ King Munjong, studied Avataṁsaka. He travelled to China to study Buddhism and from there he collected Buddhist works. Among them is Yang Chieh's 'Eulogies on the Gaṇḍavyūha of the Mahāvaipulya-Buddhāvataṁsaka-sūtra'. The biography of the Yang Chieh stresses his devotion to Amitābha (Fontein 1967:52-53).

Evolution from Śākyamuni to Rocana in Avataṁsaka. Gaṇḍavyūha was the nucleus whence the Avataṁsaka developed. The later parts of the Avataṁsaka describe the mystic doctrines of (Vai)Rocana. Thus we can trace the following stages in the transition from the historic Śākyamuni to Rocana to Vairocana.

1. Bhagavān

2. Gvy. subordinates the cults of Avalokiteśvara (28) and Maitreya (52) to the emerging world of the Avataṁsaka. They are reduced to mere cogs in the machine like other kalyāṇamitras (Fontein 1967:21-22).

3. Amitābha is the logical finale of Sudhana's pilgrimage. Samantabhadra leads Sudhana to Amitābha.

4. The emerging presence of Vairocana can be detected in several compounds with Vairocana in the Gvy: Vairocanottara-jñānin (2.17), Vairocana-dhvaja (2.19), Dig-vairocana-mukuṭa (3.5), as names of two bodhisattvas, Jagad-virocana-vyūha (6.13-14), the night-goddess Pramudita-nayana-jagad-virocanā of the Vairocana-bodhi-maṇḍa (34th kalyāṇamitra, Gvy.254...), five more goddesses (kalyāṇamitras 35-39) of the Vairocana-bodhi-maṇḍa, the bodhisattva Maitreya of the Vairocana-vyuh-ālaṅkāra-garbha mahā-kūṭāgāra (kalyāṇamitra 52).

5. Māyā recites the names of Buddhas to whom she gave birth in previous incarnations beginning with Vairocana (Fontein 1967:13). In a carved teakwood Chinese Pilgrimage Column "we find Sudhana's final meeting with Samantabhadra and an Assembly with the Buddha Vairocana and attendants" (Fontein 1967:66).

6. Vairocana emerges supreme: "In the Mahayanistic world of ideas the Buddha Gautama was of course no longer regarded as a unique historic figure and his attainment of Enlightement was not thought of as a unique event. He came to be incorporated in an infinite series of Tathāgatas, the appearance of whom was thought to extend over an eternity of innumerable kalpas backwards into the remote past as well as forwards into the distant future. In the Avataṁsaka sūtra these Tathāgatas are all manifestations of one Supreme Buddha, the Buddha Vairocana..." (Fontein 1967:22).

7. The traditional classification of tantras into four divisions reflects the same development that the cult of Amitābha evolved into that of Vairocana:

Division of	main deity
krīya tantras	Amitābha
caryā tantras	Vairocana in Amitābha's mudrā
yoga tantras	Vairocana in bodhyagrī mudrā
anuttara-yoga tantras	Heruka

In the Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha the presiding Buddha is occasionally referred to as Śākyamuni as well as the more usual name of Vairocana (STTS, ed. Lokesh Chandra and D.L. Snellgrove, introd. p.52).

Transition from Rocana of Avataṁsaka to Vairocana of Vajrayāna reflected in the Sŏkkur-am, and Pulguk-sa complex. Just as the Avataṁsaka was an earlier stage in the evolution of Vajrayāna, so also the Sŏkkur-am culminated in the Vairocanas of Pulguk-sa monastery. Vajrayāna had become known in Korea as soon as it was introduced into China. The famous Silla monk Hyech'o had been the personal disciple of both Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra who laid the foundations of Vajrayāna in China. Hyŏnch'o had already studied under Śubhākarasiṁha. Hyŏnch'o became the teacher of Hui-k'o, who had transmitted the doctrine to Kōbō Daishi. The Korean monk Ŭirim was the teacher of Shunhsiao (Kim/Lee 1974:76).

The Pulguk-sa monastery contains two seated gilt-bronze life-size statues. They "share the same technique of casting and workmanship. They even share the reversed order in the positioning of the hand gesture".

"Such features as these point to the possibility, at least, that the two images may originally have been members of a group of the Five Buddhas of the Esoteric Buddhist maṇḍala, in which the Mahāvairocana occupies the center of the diagram. On the other hand, no other Buddha images are known that might complete the group, and no record exists either to lend positive support for their interpretation or to provide a clue for their dating. The style, however, in its relaxed treatment of the garment folds and the apparent lack of interest in modelling of the full face and the expansive body suggests a date posterior to that of the Sŏkkur-am Buddha of circa 751. Yet the facial expression lacks the serenity found on the Paengnyul-sa Bhaiṣajyaguru mentioned earlier (Pl.108), which dates from the last decades of the eighth century. So these two Pulguk-sa bronze statues are generally assigned by Korean scholars to the second half of the eighth century, between the dates of the Sŏkkur-am Buddha and the Paengnyul-sa Bhaiṣajyaguru, both on stylistic grounds and in the light of the historical development of the cult of Esoteric Buddhism in Silla as well". (Kim/Lee 1974:77). The perception of Kim/Lee can be specified only in the light of Japanese Shingon which has preserved the tradition intact up to our times in all its details. That the date of these two figures is posterior to the Sŏkkur-am Amitābha of circa 751, is natural and in tune with the logic of spiritual evolution: the Avataṁsaka converging into Vajrayāna.

The seated gilt-bronze statue of Vairocana in the bodhyagrī mudrā is a clearcut and certain indication that it pertains to the Vajradhātu. The bodhyagrī mudrā is unique and exclusive to Vajradhātu Vairocana. The two Vairocanas of the Garbhadhātu and Vajradhātu occur together as a pair of the two caryā and yoga divisions of tantras which are known in Japan as the ryōbu or twin divisions. The complementarity of the duo is

integral in East Asian Vajrayāna. The other image, identified so far as Amitābha, should be the Garbhadhātu Vairocana. The Vajradhātu, in fact, presupposes the Garbhadhātu Vairocana. The hands of the Garbhadhātu Vairocana are in dhyāna-mudrā of meditation. The mudrā of Amitābha was also dhyāna, for instance in the gigantic statue of Amitābha at Kamakura. In fact, the mudrā of Amitābha had been carried over to the Garbhadhātu Vairocana in the evolution of tantras. Amitābha of the first division of kriyā tantras developed into Garbhadhātu Vairocana of the second division of caryā tantras. So another mudrā of Amitābha in the Pulguk-sa Garbhadhātu Vairocana is in order. Garbhadhātu Vairocana acquired in addition a crown of Five Tathagātas. So also the Vajradhātu Vairocana wears the same crown of Five Tathāgatas. Both the Vairocanas at Pulguk-sa are bereft of crowns. In former times, they must have worn separate crowns which have disappeared over the centuries.

The pagoda to the right of the Pulguk-sa is Tabo-t'ap, which means the pagoda of many treasures or of Prabhūta-ratna of the Lotus Sūtra. McCune (1962:93) says: "The first story is a platform provided with four stone staircases leading up to an enclosed area which is thought to have accommodated a Buddhist image at one time" It should, and must have, enshrined the image of Prabhūtaratna Tathāgata, while Śākyamuni was in the other Sokka-t'ap or pagoda of Śākyamuni. In China and Japan these two pagodas occur together. The Tahō-tō (Jap.) = Tabo-t'ap (Korean) pagodas were modelled after the stūpa-sandarśana chapter of the Lotus Sūtra and they became popular in China since AD 732. (JEBD 1965:310 b).

Conclusion. In this paper we have tried to bring more precision in the interpretations of previous scholars, by comparing them with the Buddhist traditions elsewhere, specially Japan. At Pulguk-sa: (i) The two pagodas did have the images of Śākyamuni and Prabhūtaratna, and (ii) the twin gilt-bronze statues are the Vairocanas of the two maṇḍalas known in Japan as the ryōbu mandara.

The Sŏkkur-am represents the Gaṇḍavyūha. Its central image is Amitābha. The images in the niches are the bodhisattvas of the ten directions who flock to listen to the teachings of the Bhagavān (Lord) of the Gaṇḍavyūha. The pilgrimage of Sudhana to 50-54 kalyāṇamitras must have been depicted on scrolls, lost in the passage of centuries.

19. THE CONFUCIAN ANALECTS

China is an ancient land, with a cultural heritage whose origins are lost in a hoary past. Since historic times it has been our comrade in the realm of higher thought and religion. But today we are hardly aware of its magnificent literature, vast in space and time. Like our Four Vedas, its traditional Confucian canon consists of the Five Classics and the Four Books. The Five Classics are: *I Ching* or Book of Changes, *Shu Ching* or Book of History, *Shih Ching* or Book of Odes, *Li Chi* or Book of Rites, and lastly, *Ch'un Ch'iu*, or Spring and Autumn Annals. Second in rank to the Classics, but more potent in stirring to its depths the soul of China come the Four Books. They are: *Lun Yü* or The Analects, which form the subject of this paper, *Mêng Tsu* or Book of Mencius, *Ta Hsüeh* or Great Learning, and lastly *Chung Yung* or Doctrine of the Mean.

The Five Classics and the Four Books are the core of the teachings of Confucius, which were the "guiding ropes" of the national ethos of China. Confucius stands out as the greatest name in Chinese history. Though there is very little in his recorded teaching which gives the impression of his having been a philosopher, he undoubtedly was a great teacher (H12). Of the various sources which claim to give details of his life and teaching, the Lun Yü (lit. 'discussions and sayings') is the only one which the best Chinese scholarship of the past has allowed to be deemed authoritative. This book (known in the English world as the Analects) is a composite work, containing material of very varied authenticity. Not more than half can be really trusted even as good second hand evidence. Yet the sage Confucius speaks to us through it with unmistakable personal force.

The records in the Analects, or Conversations of Confucius, were made by different groups of disciples' disciples and finally amalgamated into this one book. Prominent part in the compilation was taken by followers of his two disciples Tseng and Yu, referred to as 'philosophers' in the opening paragraphs.

It shows how in Confucius' day the art of book-making, i.e. of consecutive writing, was far behind the stage it reached by the third century BC. At first sight there appears to be little or no arrangement in it; but closer examination shows that the different groups of these disciples had different interests, anecdotal, religious, political, and so forth, whence the rough arrangement of the material.

The Analects are in the main, the discourses of Confucius with his disciples and inquirers, though some are also sayings of the disciples. The Emperor Ch'in Shih Huang, founding a new dynasty 213 BC, ordered that all books be burnt and all scholars buried alive, so that history might begin with himself. But his reign was short, and a few

precious relics escaped. An ancient copy of The Analects was discovered about 150 BC in a cranny of a wall of the house which had been occupied by Confucius himself, and another copy was found in a neighbouring state. Meanwhile the form of Chinese handwriting had altered from the antique 'tadpole' style of Confucian days to the present square characters, and the ancient books were undecipherable save to a few scholars. One such scholar was the head of Confucius' own clan, and the king of the day ordered him to decipher his great ancestor's work: which he did (S.xliv).

There have been many schools of thought and commentators on The Analects: the best-known being Chu Hsi, whose voluminous writings in the twelfth century AD were the crown of Chinese scholarship.

The central idea of Confucius as revealed by The Analects is that every normal human being should cherish the aspiration to become a superior man—superior to his fellows, if possible, but surely superior to his own past and present self (D.1).

In his various sayings scattered all over The Analects, the sage adjures his disciples to admire without ceasing, to emulate without turning, the Superior Man, some of whose attributes are purpose, poise, self-sufficiency, thoroughness, sincerity and truthfulness, purity of thought and action, love of truth, mental hospitality, catholicism and non-partisanship, rectitude, prudence and earnestness in conduct, composure, fearlessness, firmness, lowliness, upward progress, capacity, benevolence, broad-mindedness, charity—all virtues that help a man in his striving 'to abide in the highest excellence', 'the cultivation of himself with reverential care'.

In book II of The Analects Confucius sets forth more lucidly than any other thinker, ancient or modern, the essential of all mental morality, integrity of the mind.

In glowing and enthusiastic terms he sang the praises of the open mind, its need, its utility, its essential beauty and sure promise, saying: "They who know the truth are not equal to them that love it, and they who love it are not equal to them that find pleasure in it" (vi.xviii, D.15).

The necessity for patient, unremitting study, not merely of books but of men, animals and things, of the phenomena of animate and inanimate nature, is urged by the great teacher again and again: "Learn as if you might not attain your object and were always fearing lest you miss it," (viii.xvii, D.21-22).

Though the mentor of princes, Confucius did not himself depart from such modesty in giving instruction, even as he adjured his disciples to observe. He gives this testimony concerning his course: "From the man bringing his bundle of dried flesh upwards, I have never refused instruction to any one" (vii.7, D.23).

Though he is now reverenced by millions in the Asian world as the greatest mind that has been incarnate among them Confucius makes no claim for himself to such inspiration and internal perception of knowledge without external observation; instead, he says: "I am not one who was born in the possession of knowledge; I am one who is fond of antiquity and earnest in seeking it there" (vii.xix, D.28).

Confucius was ever insistent upon contrasting the love of virtue with the love of comfort as in these sayings: "The scholar who cherishes the love of comfort is not fit to be deemed a scholar" (xiv.iii, D.40). "A scholar, whose mind is set on truth and who is ashamed of poor clothes and poor food, is not fit to be discoursed with" (iv.ix).

Self-scrutiny is an important topic in the Analects. His disciple, Tsang, thus describes the scrutiny to which he habitually and daily submitted his own thoughts and conduct: "I daily examine myself on three points: whether, in transacting business for others I may not have been faithful; whether, in intercourse with friends, I may not have been sincere; and whether I may not have mastered and practised the instructions of my teacher" (i.iv, D.45).

In order to attain to the ideal state of the Superior Man Confucius would have one cultivate the will. In the fourth book of the Analects he puts it thus: "If the will be set on virtue, there will be no practice of wickedness". When the will accords completely with the purpose and the desire, courage will follow necessarily.

The Analects eulogise the balanced self-centred man in no uncertain terms, as follows: "He with whom neither calumny which slowly soaks into the mind, nor insults that startle like a wound to the flesh, are successful, may indeed be called intelligent; yea, he with whom neither soaking calumny nor startling insults are successful may be called far-seeing" (D.60).

The Analects are not after a perfectionist doctrine. Twice in them Confucius refers to perfect virtue, when replying to inquiries on this important subject, especially to sincerity of speech and faithfulness of conduct; the first time briefly thus: "Fan Ch'e asked about perfect virtue. The Master said: 'It is in retirement, to be sedately grave; in the management of business, to be reverently attentive; in intercourse with others, to be strictly sincere'." (D.79).

After instruction in self-development, men need to know their relation to fellow beings. First in importance of our social duties, and intimately connected with individual character, Confucius placed propriety. To quote The Analects: "Let the superior man never fail reverentially to order his own conduct; and let him be respectful to others and observant of propriety. Then all within the four seas will be his brothers". (xii.v.4, D.98)

The untoward consequences, if the rites of propriety are neglected, are strikingly set forth by Confucius in the eighth book of The Analects "Respectfulness, without the rules of propriety, becomes laborious bustle; carefulness, without the rules of propriety, becomes timidity; boldness, without the rules of propriety, becomes insubordination; straight-forwardness, without the rules of propriety, becomes rudeness" (viii.ii.1, D.101).

Confucius is frequently accused of paying too much attention to propriety in manners. Undoubtedly, he did place great stress both upon ceremonies and upon manners, but more upon the spirit that should inform them.

The teachings of Confucius as embodied in The Analects do not aim at a socially unachievable trans-realism. In his time, the religious teacher, Lao Tse, was laying the foundations of Taoism, the most prevalent form of worship of Chinese origin. Lao Tse urged the validity of the rule of conduct: "Love thine enemies." Inquiry was made of Confucius regarding this, resulting in the following dialogue: "Some one said, 'What do you say concerning the principle that injury should be recompensed with kindness?" The Master said: "With what then will you recompense kindness? Recompense injury with justice and recompense kindness with kindness" (xiv.xxxvi, D.124). Confucius also went much further than this; for he taught that there is a duty to hate men who evince certain evil traits of character and that this duty is as binding as the other.

Though The Analects have little to say on family problems, yet some important observations on parental relations and filial piety, that corner-stone of Chinese philosophy of life, are found in them. In the first book Confucius says: "A youth, when at home, should be filial, and, abroad, respectful to his elders. He should be earnest and truthful. He should overflow in love to all and cultivate the friendship of the good. When he has time and opportunity, after the performance of these things, he should employ them in polite studies" (i.vi, D.152). On the parental side, the mere shortcomings of youth are to be viewed charitably and judgment is to be suspended until time shall tell. Then Confucius puts as follows: "A youth is to be regarded with respect. How do we know that his future will not be equal to our present? If he reach the age of forty or fifty, and has not made himself heard of, then indeed he will not be worth being regarded with respect" (ix.xxii, D.153).

The responsibilities of the father are of course more serious. They extend even to the avoidance of such comradeship with his son as might be misunderstood and so tend to impair the son's veneration. Thus, it is said: "I have also heard that the superior man maintains a distant reserve towards his son". (xvi.xiii.5).

The Analects accorded "Filial Piety" the honour of being the foundation of the later Chinese ethical structure. The disciple Yu Tze declares that all generous conduct flows from filial and fraternal sentiments, saying: "Filial piety and fraternal submission, are they not the root of all benevolent actions?" (i.ii.2, D.164).

In progression, Confucius rises to a discussion of duties towards the state, which social organization he regards as a larger household, having its ethical principles founded on those of the primary unit (D.172).

He quotes the Shu King to show the immediate and causal relation between the exercise of filial and fraternal piety and the establishment of government upon a sound and secure foundation (D.174). About the function of government The Analects say: "Ke K'ang Tze asked Confucius about government. Confucius replied: "To govern means to rectify. If you lead with correctness, who will dare not to be correct?" (xii.xvii) Elsewhere again it is related: "The duke of She asked about government. The Master said, 'Good government obtains when those who are near are made happy, and those who are far are attracted' " (xiii.xvi, D.175).

In The Analects, Confucius has repeatedly announced about kingly quantities, as in these words: "When a prince's personal conduct is correct, his government is effective without the issuing of orders. When his personal conduct is not correct, he may issue orders but they will not be obeyed." (xiii.vi, D.218).

The ideal of benevolent government has been put in The Analects as a warning and a promise, in these words: "If the people have plenty, their prince will not be left to want alone. If the people are in want, their prince will not be able to enjoy plenty alone". (xii.ix.4, D.180).

The Analects scarcely refer to the subject of war. Yet the sayings of the sage therein regarding military affairs are full of insight and forethought. For instance it is said in book 13: "To lead an uninstructed people to war, is to throw them away". The requisites of a great military leader are thus related: "Tse-loo said: 'If you had the conduct of the armies of a great state, whom would you have to act with you?' The Master said: 'I would not have him to act with me, who will unarmed attack a tiger or cross a river without a boat, dying without regret. My associate must be a man who proceeds to action full of solicitude, who is fond of adjusting his plans and then carries them into execution." (vii.x.2, 3, D.207-208).

The Analects are strikingly modern when they set forth the necessity for general education of all classes of the people and the benefits in respect of government which flow from it. In one place, it is said, very significantly, of the levelling power of educa-

tion: "There being instruction, there will be no distinction of classes". (xv.xxxviii, D.221).

In The Analects Confucius holds that the encouragement of the fine arts was no less a duty of the state than the protection of the people from foreign and the suppression of internal disorder. Confucius repeatedly emphasises the importance of the cultivation of the arts (D.248).

The above is a bird's-eye-view of the strikingly secular and modern ethical and political precepts of Confucius, as enunciated in The Analects, who strove to make the human being good—a good father, a good mother, a good son, a good friend, a good citizen. Though the truths were unpalatable at the time of their enunciation, they have lived to bear good fruit. The blessings they have bestowed in the vast expanses of China may yet give comfort to many people in many others lands.

20. THE TRIPIṬAKA-TRANSLATOR PAO-SSU-WEI/CINTĀMAṆI

Antonino Forte has written a paper on "The Activities in China of the Tantric Master Maṇicintana (Pao-ssu-wei: AD ?-721) from Kashmir and of his Northern Indian Collaborators" in the *East and West* 34(1984):301-350. Pao-ssu-wei (Jap. Hōshiyui) arrived at Loyang in 693, worked there till 706, constructed the T'ien-chu monastery (Monastery of T'ien-chu = India), and passed away in 721 aged more than a hundred years. The Taishō edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka attributes nine works to him:

697	(Nj 293, K 284)	Good qualities of washing the images (AD 705)
788	(Nj 295, K 285)	Counting the good qualities of a rosary (AD 705)
956	(Nj 541, K 424)	Ekākṣara Uṣṇīṣacakravartī (AD 705)
1083	(Nj 322, K 295)	Cintāmaṇi-dhāraṇī (AD 693-706)
1084	(——)	Dhāraṇī of Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokita
1097	(Nj 313, K 290)	Amoghapāśa-kalparāja (AD 693)
1154	(Nj 497, K 454)	Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī (AD 693)
1181	(Nj 333, K 299)	Ekākṣara-dhāraṇī from the Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa (AD 702)
1281	(——)	Nārāyaṇa-kalpa

Su T'ing says of Pao-ssu-wei: "On learning of the East, he set off from the South". From the South, he travelled by sea to China and landed at Kuang-chou (Canton). Forte (1984:307) is not clear about the South: " 'the South' refers to a country south of China". It is evident that Pao-ssu-wei set off by the sea route from South India. Earlier, Bodhidharma had taken the same route and also landed at Canton. South India was renowned for Kanchi as a centre of Tantric learning. Prājña of Kapiśā, who worked in China from AD 785-810, learnt the speech of South India where they persue the guhya-piṭaka or vidyādhara-piṭaka and practise strange rites. Thereafter he proceeded to the South where he studied the yoga tantra, maṇḍala and mudrā of the 'five families' in more than 3000 ġāthās (Bagchi 1938:2.583). Prājña studied the Chinese language and embarked for China from a South Indian port. In fact, the Buddhist name of Kanchi was Oḍḍiyāna, the birth place of Tantric Buddhism. It was natural for Pao-ssu-wei to go down to the South, both as a Tantric centre and as a major port of embarkation to China. It seems that Pao-ssu-wei must have studied for some time at Kanchi to become adept in the Esoteric disciplines. Chih-sheng says: "He cultivated the wonders of astrology and of the art of dhāraṇī (chou-shu) in particular" (Forte 1984:306).

Forte (p.304) has discussed the reconstruction of the name of Pao-ssu-wei as Ratnacinta, Ādisena, Maṇicinta and has suggested Maṇicintana but with reservations: "In

the absence of any definitive solution, I propose to use the rendering Maṇicintana in this article, although I myself am not fully convinced". The Chinese sources give his name in translation and transcription:
Translation: Pao-ssu-wei (pao = maṇi/ratna, ssu-wei =reflection)
Transcription: A-ni-chen-na/Jap. Anishinna, T'ang pronunciation ā-ni-t'i̯ äng-nâ.

The problem has arisen because of the assumption that Chinese translates the transcribed name. While in general this is true, the present case seems to be an exception. The Chinese *pao* translates *maṇi* and *ssu-wei* renders *cintā,* which should give the Sanskrit name Cintāmaṇi. Cintāmaṇi is still a common name in India, and it is the name of a Buddha in MW. Cintāmaṇi has been translated into Chinese in several ways, e.g. in Soothill/Hodous: 如意寶(珠) ; 一一摩尼 (211a), 震多末尼 (445b). In Cintāmaṇi-Mahākāla the translation is yet different: 真陀大黑 (97a). In the first Chinese translation the word for *maṇi* is *pao* as in our name. A form of Avalokita is Cintāmaṇi-cakra Avalokiteśvara (Jap. Nyoirin Kannon) where cintāmaṇi is translated by *nyoi/cintā* without any Chinese equivalent for maṇi. In the two works of Pao-ssu-wei on Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara (T 1083, 1084) cintāmaṇi is *jui-moni* (Jap. *nyoi-mani* 如意摩尼). It means that Pao-ssu-wei was a devotee of Cintāmaṇicakra. Why was his own name not rendered *jui-moni*? It would have been presumptuous to be called by the same name in Chinese as his own tutelary deity (iṣṭa-devatā), hence a variant translation was effected: *pao-ssu-wei.*

Now, what is the transcribed name A-ni-chen-na (Jap. Ani-shinna)? It seems to be the Tamil nickname of the Kashmiri master, given by the guru during his stay in the South. In deference to the teacher, he must have preferred the Tamil name to his original name of Cintāmaṇi. *Aṇi* in Tamil is "decoration, ornament, beauty", Kannada *aṇi* "niceness, pleasantness, beauty" (Burrow/Emeneau 1961:no.98). Tamil *ceṇṇam* "form, shape" (Winslow 1862:501a), "beautiful form" (Tamil Lexicon 3.1585a). Thus the name *Aṇi ceṇṇa* will mean "pleasant and handsome, of beauteous form". The handsome figure and fair complexion of Pao-ssu-wei must have prompted his South Indian teacher to give him this name.

21. TANTRAS AND THE DEFENCE OF T'ANG CHINA

A sovereign state and sanctifying scriptures, the śastra and śāstra, have a shared interdependence. The collective has sought its continuity in the enduring flow of Cosmic power. To transcend the day's frontiers, the state has found revitalising syntheses in multitudinous spiritual manifestations. The collective batteries have been constantly re-charged in the power-house of Cosmic Consciousness. The Sanskrit adage says: *dharmo rakṣati rakṣitaḥ dharmo hato hanti* 'dharma safeguards if sustained and devastates if wrecked'. In the Vedic tradition too *Tapas, Brahma* and *Yajña* uphold the earth (AtharvaVeda 12.1.1: *tapo brahma yajñaḥ pṛithivīṁ dhārayanti*). The vast earth is protected with ceaseless care by Gods who never slumber (AtharvaVeda 12.1.7).

Likewise, Ssu-ma Ch'ien (145-87 BC) the most famous and the most influential of Chinese historians emphasises the role of virtue in the conduct of state affairs: "In ancient times, when Shun and Yü became rulers, they had first to accumulate goodness and merit for twenty or thirty years, impress the people with their virtue, prove that they could in practice handle the affairs of government and meet the approval of Heaven before they were able to ascend the throne. Again, when Kings T'ang and Wu founded the Shang and Chou dynasties, they had behind them ten generations of ancestors stretching back to Hsieh and Hou Chi respectively, who had been distinguished for their just and virtuous conduct" (Butterfield 1981:223). Ch'ien says further: "The kings of antiquity made humanity and righteousness the root of their rule, and considered strategic power, laws and regulations as no more than its branches". (Butterfield 1981:224).

The Classical Chinese concept of the integral relations of the sacred and the state, influenced the Chinese view of the role of Buddhism in the stabilisation of the Imperial dynasties. As early as AD 402-409, Kumārajīva translated the Jen wang pan-jo-po-lo-mi ching, Jap. Ninnō-hannya-kyō (Nj 17, T 245, K 19) or the Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra for the *protection of the country* by benevolent kings. It was invoked for defence by East Asian nations throughout the centuries. In the seventh chapter of "this sūtra the Buddha explained to King Prasenajit and fifteen other benevolent kings, how they could protect their countries against all kinds of calamities, by means of the divine power of the Great Bodhisattvas of the Five Quarters: Vajrapāṇi (E), Vajraratna (S), Vajratīkṣṇa (W), Vajrayakṣa (N) and Vajrapāramitā (Centre) (with their numberless followers), whose angry shapes are the...Five Great-Power Bodhisattvas."... Ceremonies of this sūtra were national events in Japan from the seventh century onwards (Visser 1935:13). In AD 746 Emperor Shōmu "ordered the Ninnō-hannyakyō to be expounded for the strength and

maintenance of the dynasty, the rest of the State, and the welfare of the people" (Visser 1935:117).

Protection of the state is *chingo kokka* 鎭護國家 .The Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra/ Daihannya-kyo is called the *chingo kokka-no kyō-ō* ----の經王 the king of sūtras which protect the state'. Gokoku sanbukyō 'The three state-protecting sutras' are: (1) Hoke-kyō 法華經 , (2) Konkōmyō-kyō 金光明經 , and (3) Ninnō-kyō. 仁王經 These sutras have been copied, chanted and expounded with the belief that the merit of these acts would stop calamities in the state and secure peace and security.

The fifth chapter of the Jen wang ching (Jap. Ninnōkyō) is entitled Gokoku 'protecting the country'. Tathāgata says: "You, sixteen Great Kings, must practise the Rite of Protecting the Country, and you must keep, read and explain this sūtra. If in future ages the kings of countries wish to protect their kingdoms and to protect their own bodies, they too must act in the same way" (Visser 1935:134-135).

"The principal aim of the Ninnōe was to give peace and prosperity to the Empire, for 'to raise the Triratna is a field of felicity to the State', as we read in the Imperial edict promulgated in AD 746 by the Emperor Shōmu. ... In AD 940 the Tendai priest Jōzō was one of the leaders of a Ninnōe in the Palace, held in order to suppress Taira no Masakado's rebellion. ... In AD 1281 priest Ninshō held a Ninnōe on Inamurayama 'in order to pray for the suppression of the Mongols'. ... In AD 1342 the Shingon priest Kanshun 'prayed for the peace of the Empire' by means of the Ninnō daihō in Tōji" (Visser 1935:182-83).

Paintings of Fudō (Acala) were introduced into Japan from T'ang China by Kōbō daishi (AD 774-835), Enchin (AD 838-891) and Ennin (AD 838-866) in the ninth century. They were "generally used in invocation for national peace and security" (Nakano 1981:ii). The fundamental role of Buddhism, in the legitimation and stabilisation of the state can be perceived and appreciated in the Zen dictum *ken zen ichi* 'the sword and Zen are one'.

The T'ang dynasty established an extensive empire and under it Buddhism reached its apogee by the induction of Vajrayāna texts. The grandeur of their ritual ensured unprecedented popularity in the Imperial household, in the great families of the realm as well as among common people. Sūtras were used for "the benefit and advantage of the state" (Ch'en 1964:218). The logistic problems involved in distant military campaigns in Central Asia were resolved with success through Vajrayāna rituals. It would suffice to cite the strategic military role of Vajrayāna rituals of Vaiśravaṇa who was

venerated in China and Japan as a god of war. T 1248 by Amoghavajra gives a dhāraṇī entitled 'Dhāraṇī of Devarāja of the north, Vaiśramaṇa, who watches over armies for protecting the Dharma': if one pronounces this dhāraṇī before an image of Vaiśravaṇa—which represents the Devarāja under his terrible aspect,...he sends his third son Naḍa to the side of those who direct their troops for the protection of their country; or still, if one covers the armour plate of his image with the powder of gold and offers him perfumes, flowers and other offerings while pronouncing the dhāraṇī a hundred thousand times, he himself takes the command of his celestial troops and goes to support his devotee, to whom he assures victory; or furthermore, if one recites non-stop day and night he delegates his heir-prince Dokken at the head of celestial troops; or still one can suspend his image on a staff and carry it as a banner fifteen paces in front of the army which will render the enemy ineffectual. The Vaiśravaṇa-kalpa (T 1247) by Amoghavajra, specifically consecrated to Naḍa, adds in the colophon that during the 'grand troubles of the Five Kingdoms', one tried in vain during eight months all sorts of other ceremonies. Only the rite prescribed in this text proved efficacious for stabilising the country. It refers to the troubles which burst forth in Central Asia at the end of the reign of Hsüan-tsung during the T'ang dynasty and by the 'Five Kingdoms' are intended the five foreign people who besieged the city of Anhsi. The incident is reported in details in the 'Ritual of Vaiśravaṇa' by Amoghavajra (T 1249). In AD 742, the Five Kingdoms of Seiban=Tibet, Daiseki=Arabs, Kōko=Sogdians, and others besieged the city of Anhsi. On the second day of the second moon, a report was presented to the Emperor demanding relief troops. The Emperor said to master I-hsing: 'Master! the city of Anhsi is besieged by Arabs and others and it requires troops. But as it is situated at a distance of 12,000 leagues, it will take eight months for my troops to arrive there, and I do not know what to do'.—I-hsing replied: 'Why does Your Majesty not invoke to your aid the Devarāja of the north, Vaiśravaṇa, with his celestial troops'. —'How can I invoke him?' — 'By the intervention of the Serindian monk Amoghavajra'. —The Emperor sent word to this monk who invited him to provide an incense-burner and follow him to the monastery. The monk pronounced a dhāraṇī from the Jen wang ching (tr. by Amoghavajra) 27 times. The Emperor then saw hundreds of soldiers in arms and the monk explained to him that they were the troops of Dokken the second son of Vaiśravaṇa, who had come to take charge before departure for Anhsi. In the fourth month he received a report from Anhsi, declaring that, on the very day of the ceremony they saw appearing in the north-east of the city, the envelopings of an obscure haze, of giants dressed in armour plates of gold. They heard an uproar of drums and of horns, and experienced a violent trembling of the earth.

The troops of the Five Kingdoms, frightened, retired to their camps, where rats of gold gnawed the strings of their bows and of their traps. A voice in the sky enjoined to spare the old and the feeble, who could not flee away. Then Vaiśravaṇa manifested himself in person on the northern gate of the city. They drew his image which was appended to the report addressed to the Emperor".

The first T'ang Emperor Kao-tsu (AD 618-627) received from Fu Yi his seventh memorial in AD 626 requesting a ban on Buddhism. His Councillor P'ei Chi reminded him: "O Your Majesty ! formerly when you raised the righteous armies, you promised before the Three Jewels that you would open the doors of the profound school (Buddhism) if you were enthroned. Now, the world has come under your benevolent administration and you possess the wealth of the four seas (i.e. world). If you want to accept the words of [Fu] Yi, it will affect your past virtues and foster what is evil in you" (Jan 1966:22). Thus, profundity of Buddhism lay embedded into the very foundations of the T'ang state. A natural consequence was the quest for Tantric texts in India and elsewhere, their translation into Chinese and the efficacious utilisation of their ritual. It led to the progressive development and continuous spread of Tantras in China, spurred on by periodic Chinese reverses in Central Asia.

In AD 629, or the first month of the third regnal year of Emperor T'ai Tsung (AD 627-649), an Imperial edict ordered Buddhist monks to recite the Jen wang ching in the national capital on the 27th of every month to pray for the welfare of the nation. The government undertook to supply all the materials for the ceremonies (Jan 1966:25).

The Tibetan Emperor Songtsen Gampo had been seeking the hand of the daughter of the Chinese Emperor T'ai Tsung. His request conflicted with that of the Eastern Tatars who had also requested an Imperial princess. The Tibetans defeated the Tatars and captured Sungchou. "Songtsen Gampo again asked for an imperial princess in marriage as an alternative to war. With his letter of request, he sent the Chinese Emperor a present of a suit of armour finely decorated with gold inlay. The Chinese gave battle but were defeated and so the Emperor finally agreed to give a princess in marriage. ... In the year 641, the Chinese Emperor sent his minister, Tao-tsung, Prince of Chiang-hsia, with a company of troops to escort the princess, Wen-ch'eng Kung-chu, as far as the Tibetan border where Songtsen Gampo received her" (Sha. 1967:26). Emperor Songtsen Gampo sent one of his ministers to China in 645 for permission to construct a temple at Wu-t'ai Shan. The Chinese Emperor acceded to the request. The might of Tibet came to the fore once again in 648 when the Chinese emperor sent a mission to the Indian Emperor Harṣa under the leadership of Wang Hsüan-ts'ê. Under orders of Arjuna, the usurper of the

kingdom of Harṣa, the mission was slaughtered. Wang escaped to Nepal, and appealed for help to Songtsen Gampo. He received 12,000 mounted troops from Tibet, captured King Arjuna and returned with him to China. The Chinese Emperor felt grateful to Songtsen Gampo. The invincibility of Tibet came to the fore. On 6 May 654 Atikūṭa completed the translation of a collection of dhāraṇīs under the title of T'o-lo-ni ching 'Dhāraṇī-samuccaya' (K 308, Nj 363). It was probably a measure to preempt the gathering storm on the frontiers. In this very year (AD 654), a conference of the Tibetan Emperor, ministers and governors decided to meet once an year for future military preparations. In the following year AD 655, "Tibetan troops were massed along the Chinese frontier in preparation for hostilities against the T'u-yü-hun. The regent, Gar Tongtsen, lived in the Asha (T'u-yü-hun) region for eight years, conducting the military campaigns. The prolonged war finally came to an end when Su-ho-kuei, the T'u-yü-hun chief minister, sought asylum with the Tibetans and revealed to them the defenses of his people, which allowed the Tibetans to defeat the T'u-yü-hun. ... The T'u-yü-hun Prince of Ho-yuan, was forced to flee to Liang-chou in China. ... Following the defeat of the T'u-yü-hun, refugees began to pour into Liang-chou in such numbers that the Chinese Emperor summoned his ministers to discuss the advisability of going to war with the Tibetans, or to relocate the T'u-yü-hun people. The minister, Yen Li-pen, advised against war, at least until the famine, then widespread in China, was over. General Ch'i-pi ho-li expressed his opinion that war against Tibet, because of the great distances involved, would pose problems of transport and supplies. Minister Yen advised the Emperor to wait until the Tibetans mistook his patience for weakness; then when they became arrogant and careless, they could be defeated in one campaign. The minister Chiang K'o disagreed and insisted that any delay would allow the Tibetans to become even more powerful and that they should be attacked at once. The discussions led to nothing. War was not declared" (Sha. 1967: 29-30). The atmosphere was thus surcharged with defence psychology. This can be gleaned from the request of Hsüan-tsang in the late autumn of AD 657 when he "asked if he might retire to and end his days at the Small Forest Monastery, which lay quite close to his birth-place, in the hills to the east of Lo-yang. He had already, he said, translated over six hundred scrolls, and so made some return for the favours of successive Emperors; for the books he had translated were all regarded in their land of origin as contributing to 'national defence'. It is true that some scriptures, particularly those of the Transcendental Wisdom and Magic Schools, contain spells supposed to protect monarchs and their kingdoms" (Waley 1952:121). In AD 658 Hsüan-tsang was invited to occupy the Hsi-ming Monastery. Here he received precious gifts from the Emperor. "He used the

proceeds to pay for the setting up of pagodas and images 'in the interests of the State', or used them to help the poor or as gifts to visitors from India" (Waley 1952:124).

In AD 667 Emperor Kai-tsung deputed the Chinese monk Wu-hsing to bring Sanskrit manuscripts from India. He collected texts zealously, but died in 674 on his way back home. These manuscripts were brought to Ch'ang-an on Imperial orders and preserved at the Hua-yen monastery. They contained the Sanskrit text of the Mahāvairocana-sūtra (Tajima 1936:34-35). The acquisition of these sūtras was a part of the constant replenishment of the syndrome of sovereignty and its psycho-cosmic springs of power.

"The year 670 was one marked by great military victories for the Tibetans. They marched into the Tarim basin and captured the four garrisons of Anhsi, through which the Chinese had controlled that region. The Emperor appointed Hsüeh Jen-kuei as commander-in-chief of an army of 100,000 men to recapture the four garrisons in Chinese Turkestan. The army was defeated at Ta-fei-ch'uan, and General Hsüeh was degraded for failure. In 671 another Chinese army was ordered against the Tibetans, with Chiang K'o as commander-in-chief' but, he died en route, and the army returned to China" (Sha. 1967:30). In AD 672 an Imperial edict ordered the carving of an 85 feet high stone statue of Vairocana in the Lung-men hills of Loyang (Jan 1966:40). We know that a gigantic statue of Vairocana was installed at the Todaiji monastery in AD 743 under orders of the Japanese Emperor Shomu to unify the nation in the awareness of its power (Kobayashi 1975:22,25). When the capital was shifted to Kyoto in AD 794, Tōji monastery with Vairocana as its main deity was an integral part of the metropolitan plan. It was "intended to invoke the protection of the divinities and thereby to assure the peace and prosperity" (Sawa 1972:130) of the nation. Vairocana means the Sun. The Sun represents the Solar dynasty of mighty emperors. Vairocana is also termed the Cakravartin 'Universal Monarch'. It was but natural that He be invoked in times of threat to security. Vairocana is the main deity of Avataṁsaka, and of the kriyā and yoga divisions of tantras symbolised by the fundamental texts of Mahāvairocana-sūtra and the Tattva-saṅgraha.

The grandmother of the Tibetan Emperor requested an Imperial princess. In AD 710 the Chinese Emperor accompanied the Princess of Chin-ch'eng as far as Shih-p'ing hsien. She "was escorted to Tibet by General Yang Chü. The Emperor had given the princess, Chin-ch'eng Kung-chu, in marriage with the express hope that it would ease the tensions between Tibet and China and bring about an abatement of the border warfare; but his hope was not realized" (Sha. 1967:33). As national security had been imperilled over successive reigns, day by day it was becoming imperative to translate high-potency Tantras pertaining to Vairocana to stave off all future premonitions or eventualities. The

Emperor Hsüan-tsung (r. 713-755) invited the Indian master Śubhākarasiṁha who arrived in Ch'ang-an in AD 716. On his arrival, he was honoured with the title of 'National Teacher' and his fame spread all over China. In AD 717 he completed the translation of a ritual on Ākāśāgarbha (K 473, Nj 501, T 1145) which fulfills all prayers. The name of Śubhākara was transliterated into Chinese Shu-p'o-chieh-lo-sang-ho, which is translated literally as Ching-shih-tzu 'pure lion' and as Shan wu-wei 'good without-fear'. He is generally designated by the last name. His Sanskrit name is commonly transliterated as Shu-po-chia-lo, which is translated as Wu-wei 'without-fear' or Shan Wu-wei as before (Nj p.144b§154. The common Chinese-Japanese names of Śubhākara were Shan Wu-wei or Wu-wei, that is, Abhaya 'fearless' in Sanskrit. Vajrayāna represented undaunted courage, gallant daring and intrepid fearlessness. Abhaya was an inherent attribute of Vajrayāna, for example, in the name of the Abhayagiri monastery in Srilanka. The Ratu Baka Inscription of Śaka 714=AD 792-3 from Indonesia speaks of *saddharma-vahni* 'the fire of noble Dharma', for such was Vajrayāna. It was in accord with the prevailing context of the Chinese court that sūtras of fearless triumph bring vanquishment of enemies. Tantra master Vajrabodhi and his disciple Amoghavajra, arrived by sea at Canton in AD 719 (Hob. p.265). They undertook to translate Tantra texts under Imperial patronage. Monk Chih-p'an's Fo-tsu T'ung-chi says that "his prayers were especially successful in causing rain and averting impending disasters" (Jan 1966:55).

The Chinese Princess Chin-ch'eng Kung-chu suffered from the intrigues of other wives of the Tibetan Emperor. She was so unhappy that she wanted to take refuge with Tibetan vassals. They were reluctant to offer her refuge and wrote to the Chinese Emperor. He advised the princess to "remain in Tibet, as any rash action on her part might precipitate a war. He asked her to try and settle down in the Tibetan King's court both for her own sake as well as that of her country. The princess reluctantly agreed to this" (Sha. 1967:33). In AD 719, Emperor Hsüan-tsung increased "military operations with the view to check the advances of the Tibetans and the Arabs, who sometimes combined their forces" (Sha. 1967:34). At the same time, vigorous efforts continued to translate Tantra texts. By AD 723 Vajrabodhi completed the translation of a *japa* version of the Tattva-saṅgraha (K 429, Nj 534, T 866) for recitation. Within the following two years the Mahāvairocana-sūtra was translated into Chinese by Śubhākarasiṁha with the help of I-hsing in AD 725. By the subsequent year AD 726, Śubhākarasiṁha translated the Susiddhikara-tantra (K 432, Nj 533, T 893). In AD 730 Vajrabodhi translated rituals of Cintāmaṇi-Avalokiteśvara (K 472, Nj 538, T 1087) and of Pañcākṣara-Mañjuśrī (K 465, Nj 537, T 1173) according to the system of yoga-tantras. The translation activities of Śubhākarasiṁha were spread over AD 717-735.

"In 730 the Tibetan king requested various classics and histories from the Chinese Emperor. A minister, Yu Hsiu-lieh, protested that the books requested contained valuable information on military tactics, defense plans, and deceitful strategems and that it would not be in the best interest of the empire to send the books to the Tibetans; but the Emperor disregarded his protest" (Sha. 1967:34). The following years saw a spurt in the translation of Tantric texts: Vajrabodhi completed the majority of his translations of esoteric texts during AD 731-736.

In AD 741 a Tibetan mission was sent to the Chinese Court to carry the news of the death of the imperial princess, Chih-ch'eng Kung-chu. At the same time, the mission asked for peace negotiations, but the Emperor refused. Soon after, a Tibetan army of 400,000 men advanced into China and attacked the town of Ch'eng-feng and then continued on; but they were stopped at the Ch'ang-ning bridge by General Sheng Hsi-yeh. The Tibetans later seized the town of Shih-p'u, which they held until 748" (Sha. 1967: 34). The natural consequence was that in AD 741 Amoghavajra was instructed to go to India and Srilanka to collect Tantric texts. He returned to China in AD 746 and became one of the "four greatest translators of Buddhist texts in China" (Hakeda 1972:31). His magnum opus was the translation of the first section of the Tattva-saṅgraha in AD 753 (K 1274, Nj 1020, T 865).

"Repeated battles with the Chinese increased the tension between the two countries to the point where in 763 the king, Trisong Detsen, ordered an army of 200,000 men to proceed from the grounds of the T'u-yü-hun against China" (Sha. 1967:39). In AD 765 Amoghavajra made a new translation of the Jen wang ching (K 1340, Nj 965, T 246), with a preface by Emperor Tai Tsung. The political motivation of this new translation is clearly pointed out by monk Chih-p'an in his chronicle Fo-tsu t'ung-chi: "During the tenth month [of 765], Tibetan invaders threatened the capital. Under a royal order, two carriages full of the texts of Jen-wang Ching were sent to the Hsi-ming Szu and other great monasteries. In accordance with an edict, Amoghavajra, a Tripiṭaka, established a hundred high chairs and discoursed on that canon. The king himself attended this discourse, offered incenses, and paid his homage. Immediately after this, the invaders were defeated. An edict proclaimed: 'The precious canon Jen-wang Ching has the power to protect the empire. The text of the translation done in the previous period is inaccurate'. Therefore, Amoghavajra, the Tripiṭaka, Śramaṇa Fei-hsi, and Liang-pen (AD 717-777) and others were ordered to retranslate it at the Southern Peach Garden of Ta-ming palace. The king himself read both the old and the new translations of this canon and said: 'Although the doctrines in these translations are identical, from the literary point of view,

the new translation is a perfect one'. He therefore wrote a preface to this translation. Amoghavajra was promoted to the post of President of the Department of Diplomatic Receptions" (Jan 1966:65-66).

In AD 750 the King of Siam entered into an alliance with Tibet. His successor Imohsun sought Tibetan assistance in 778. The Siamese and Tibetan troops fought together against the Chinese in Szech'uan. The Tibetan troops remained with the Siamese for eight years till amiable relations between Siam and China were restored (Sha. 1967: 43). All through these troubled years AD 746-771 Amoghavajra went on translating Tantric texts.

The Tunhuang Prefecture was occupied by the Tibetans in AD 781 and they controlled it for 67 years till it was reconquered in AD 848 by the Chinese General Zhang Yichao, a native of Tunhuang (Chang 1981:4, illus. plates 90-91). In AD 783 the peace treaty of Ch'ing-shui was concluded between Tibet and China, to fix the frontiers betweeen the two countries (Sha. 1967:41).

In AD 790 the Tibetans recaptured the four Chinese garrisons of Anhsi, whence they had been forced to withdraw in AD 692 during the reign of Empress Wu (Sha. 1967: 44). The Tibetan forces reached as far as the River Oxus. A lake to the north of the Oxus was named Al-Tubbat 'The Tibetan Lake' by the Arabs. The Caliph Harun al-Rashid allied himself to the Chinese to check the Tibetan advance. The allied Arab and Chinese forces held back the Tibetans, though they could not inflict appreciable territorial losses. It became clear that new sūtras were needed to dynamise and strengthen the defences. The two fundamental tantras of the caryā and yoga divisions, with Vairocana as the central deity, had been translated. The other important class of sutras with Rocana as its main deity was the Avataṁsaka. Vairocana is derived from virocana 'sun', and in Chinese it has rightly been translated as the Ta-jih (Jap. Dainichi) 'Great Sun'. It refers to the Solar Dynasty or Sūrya-vaṁśa of the ever-victorious kṣatriya kings of India. Lord Buddha was also a scion of the Solar Dynasty. Vairocana is also known as the Ekākṣara Cakravartī wherein he is surrounded by the Seven Insignia of State. Gaṇḍavyūha or the final portion of Avataṁsaka was chosen for a new translation and this was undertaken in AD 795. It may be recalled that the Avataṁsaka-sūtra was translated earlier in the T'ang dynasty by Śikṣānanda. He began rendering it in AD 695 at Pien-k'ung monastery and completed it by November 699 at the Fo-shou-chi monastery, Loyang (K 80). The T'ang Empress Wu (AD 684-705) had sent a special envoy to Khotan for the Sanskrit text, herself took part in the translation and wrote an Imperial preface. It was a thanksgiving to the repulse of the Tibetans in AD 692. This was repeated, when in AD 795 the Chinese Emperor re-

ceived from the King of Wu-cha (*Uḍa) in South India his personal copy of the Avataṁsaka text Gaṇḍavyūha. It was translated into Chinese by Prājña and offered to the Emperor on 16 March 798 (K 1262). It was fuller than the translation of Śikṣānanda (Nj 89), and hence more efficacious. This preemptive endeavour bore fruit. In the years AD 785 to 805 the Tibetans became busy in attacking lands to their west, and consequently their military attention was diverted from China (Sha. 1967:44).

Two types of Buddhism were being propagated in Tibet, one by the Chinese and the other by the Indian Śāntarakṣita. Matters came to a head in AD 792-4 when the famous debate between the Chinese monk Hva-shang and the Indian Kamalaśīla took place at Samye under King Trisong Detsen. Kamalaśīla was declared victorious. The defeat of the Chinese system was influenced by the constant Sino-Tibetan conflicts throughout the later half of the seventh and whole of the eighth century. The victory of Kamalaśīla gave rise to the proclamation of Buddhism as the religion of Tibet, the establishment of the first monastery of Samye and the training of the first monks. Tibet rejected the Chinese variant of Buddhism and found strength in a new cultural order directly linked to its sources in India.

"After coming to the throne, Ralpachen sent troops under the command of Hrangje Tsen towards the Chinese border. Buddhists in China and in Tibet sought mediation, and finally both countries sent representatives to the border. A meeting was held in 821 and a peace treaty concluded" (Sha. 1967:49). Henceforth Tibet ceased to be a threat to Chinese security and no new Tantric texts were translated into Chinese in the ninth century.

Conclusions: (1) The two fundamental tantras were translated into Chinese much earlier than into Tibetaṇ. The Mahāvairocana-sūtra was translated into Chinese in AD 725 (K 427) while it was done into Tibetan a century later during the reign of King Ral-pa-can (AD 815-836?) by Śīlendrabodhi and Dpal-brtsegs (Toh 490). The Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha (first section) was translated into Chinese by Amoghavajra in AD 753 (K 1274) while its Tibetan version was done two centuries later by Śraddhākaravarman and Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po (AD 958-1055, Toh 479).

(2) The Tantras were translated into Chinese, *inter alia*, for the security and stability of the State against the attacks of Tibetans and Arabs. This is explicitly stated in the Vaiśravaṇa-kalpa translated by Amoghavajra (T 1249), and in monk Chih-p'an's chronicle Fo-tsu T'ung-chi (Jan 1966:65). Reverses on the battlefield were followed by renewed vigour in translating the Tantras.

10 October 1981

22. EMPEROR HSÜAN-TSUNG, VAJRAYĀNA AND QUARTER OF VAJRAS

Vajrayāna masters, Śubhākara, Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra, arrived in China and translated the major texts of their school into Chinese during the reign of Emperor Hsüan-tsung. Hence it is important to evaluate the varied dimensions of his glorious rule.

Himself a poet, the Emperor welcomed poets like Li Po (701-762), and Tu Fu (712-770). Existing forms of poetry were brought to the highest perfection in the period. The T'ang dynasty was to be most famous for its poetry. "Poets and painters contributed to the elegance of his magnificent court ceremonial" (Eberhard 1955:198). The T'ang lyric poetry was inspired by the cosmic reverie of Taoism and the universal impermanence of earthly things, evoked by Buddhism. It is very apparent in the poems of Li Po. A clear prose style of the essayists developed. "New forms of sentences make their appearance in prose writing, with new pictures and similes brought from India through the medium of Buddhist translations" (ibid. 196).

In the domain of painting lay the principal achievement of T'ang. The six fundamental laws of painting laid down by painter Hsieh Ho were drawn from the Indian ṣaḍaṅga canons. Central Asian monks were continually pouring into China as decorators of Buddhist temples. The famous T'ang painter Wu Tao-tzŭ was strongly influenced by Central Asian techniques. As a pious Buddhist he painted pictures for temples (Eberhard 1955:197). In such an environment the maṇḍalas must have been welcome as new visual types of a complex and hence advanced idiom in Buddhist painting. Sculptures in stone and bronze, excellent fabrics, finest lacquer, high quality porcelain had the active encouragement of the Emperor.

The administration was strong, and schools were established in every village (Giles 1898:451). Fond of music the Emperor founded a Music School in 714 to train musicians in the fashionable foreign-influenced music. The Emperor selected an elite of 300 best musicians and trained them personally in the Agreeable Spring Court of the imperial Pear Garden. The Emperor is honoured as the patron saint of the theatre (MacNair 1951:378). The members of the Left Chiao Fang school were dancers, those of the Right were singers. The Buddhist scenes of song and dance at Tun-huang evoke memories of foreign dancers who are bare on the upper portion of the body: "Women ceased to veil themselves as of old" (Giles 1898:451). The deities of music and dance in the Vajradhātu maṇḍala, namely Vajralāsī, Vajragītā, Vajranṛtyā (Tj. 167), or the concupiscent goddesses of the Naya-maṇḍala (Manoja-vajriṇī, Kelikila-vajriṇī, Rāga-vajriṇī,

Māna-vajriṇī, Tj. 207) were in tune with the arts of beauty and pleasure at the Imperial palace where eminent men like poet Li Po were welcome "for their readiness to participate in scenes of revelry and dissipation provided for the amusement of the Imperial concubine, the ever-famous Yang Kuei-fei" (Giles 1898:451). In contrast with austere Confucian, but like liberal Taoism, the subdued erotic elements of the Vajrayāna deities were in the spirit of the age. Śubhākara translated a text on the Yab-yum form of Gaṇeśa, but warned that this statue should not be placed in a Buddha hall. A popular story of the T'ang dynasty hints that the erotic element of Esoteric Buddhism continued to operate (Chou 1945:327). The cult of Yab-yum Gaṇeśa was persecuted in the Sung dynasty.

The role of Buddhist monks in the palace and politics cannot be set aside: "Empress Wang, Hsüan-tsung's wife, being anxious to have a son, hired a monk who made sacrifice to the Dipper Stars and prophesied that a son would be born to her and she would be as powerful as Empress Wu. This was discovered by the Emperor, who became very angry and deposed the Empress" (Chou 1945:320). The Serindian 胡 or Central Asian monks with their *joie de vivre* created problems for Indian monks. "An attendant asked Vajrabodhi about his plan, and Vajrabodhi said: 'I am an Indian monk, not a Tibetan or Central Asiatic monk. I am not affected by the imperial order!" (Chou 1945:278).

Omens, Superstitions and the State. The Emperor encouraged "grossest forms of religious superstition" (Giles 1898:451). As time went on, he grew increasingly inclined to Taoism and mysticism in general (Eberhard 1955:198). In "the reign of Hsüan-tsung, the t'ai-shih-ling was required to make a record of good and bad omens, and submit it to the cheng-shu-sheng and the men-hsia-sheng each season, when it would be incorporated into the ch'i-chü-chu" (Solomon 1955:xxvi). Cheng-shu-sheng was an official charged with reporting all memorials relating to barbarian invasions or capitulations. Men-hsia-sheng was the Department of the Chancellery. Ch'i-chü-chu were "diaries of activity and reposę" used as primary sources for the composition of the shih-lu or court chronicle. "Classical music, known as 'elegant' music, was used...when sacrificial offerings were made to Heaven and Earth and the imperial ancestors" (MacNair 1951:378). Thus the state and omens were linked.

Emperor Hsüan-tsung was a great patron of Taoism. He "expressed concern at hearing that Taoism was not cultivated in Japan, and when a Japanese embassy returned to Japan in 753 he ordered four Japanese students to be left behind to study Taoism" (Waley 1952:143). The biography of Vajrabodhi clearly says: "At that time the Emperor [Hsüan-tsung] was interested in Taoism and had no time for the [Buddhist] doctrine of

Śūnyatā" (Chou 1945:277). The second T'ang Emperor T'ai-tsung claimed to be a descendant of Lao-tzu the founder of Taoism and the imperial family had the same surname.

In the year 691 Empress Wu usurped the throne from the T'ang dynasty and favoured Buddhist monks over Taoist priests. Hsüan-tsung expelled Wu and established the authority of the T'ang dynasty. Thus he was more inclined towards Taoism and issued edicts in his early years (713-741) to control Buddhism. Western monks were deported in 740, though the Indian monk Dharmacandra was granted special permission to stay. In 742 the Emperor changed his reign title to 'Tian Bao' and at the same time called himself 'Emperor with Sage Literary Attainment and Godly Prowess'. He also invented a story about Heaven favouring him with a divine list of attributes to hint that he enjoyed sacred protection" (Bai 1982:221). Inspite of Imperial predilection for Taoism, Buddhism dominated the intellectual and spiritual horizons, just as Buddhist pagodas loomed on the skyline of Ch'ang-an. The San-chieh sect was prone to government suppression, because it "divided time into the era of the true teaching, the era of the counterfeit teaching, and the era of the decay of the teaching. Although there was disagreement over exact periodization, the T'ang was generally assigned to the period of decay, a view which T'ang emperors naturally did not appreciate. Empress Wu and Emperor Hsüan-tsung were particularly hostile. The latter, who had an abiding interest in Taoist magic, patronized Esoteric Buddhism (Mi) which was characterized by the use of mantras (mystic syllables), mudrās (signs made by the position of the fingers and hands), and maṇḍalas (pictorial representations of the cosmos—'cosmograms' " (Schirokauer 1978:112). In these circumstances, Ch'en-yen (Jap. Shingon) provided fresh vigour and vitality to Buddhism because it was a NEW school.

The major appeal of Vajrayāna was its novelty and innovations in impressive rites in tune with the exalted role of a Confucian state or the majestic rituals in keeping with Taoism. Kobo daishi expressed this viewpoint "after his return from China at a time when he sought to gain court sanction for the Shingon school by arguing for its novel and valuable rites, practices and doctrines" (Todaro 1984:100 quotes Matsunaga Yūkei and Takeuchi Kōzen). Moreover, "Shingon Buddhism, the most profound teaching of all, embraced all others, however imperfect, as integral parts of itself. Kukai's final viewpoint was that the other varieties of Buddhism were as steps ascending towards the final, exalted level of Shingon" (Hakeda 1972:66).

In its magical rites, Vajrayāna was close to Taoism. I-hsing an eminent founder-teacher of the new school of Vajrayāna was friendly with the Taoists. The association of I-hsing, the outstanding astronomer, with the translation of Vajrayāna sutras provided a

unique respect for the new school, as Indian astronomy was held in high esteem in the T'ang state. Three Indian astronomers held office at the Bureau of Astronomy, namely, Kāśyapa, Gautama and Kumāra. They produced new calendar systems and introduced innovations like the zero symbol. I-hsing used Indian texts and methodology for astronomical calculations which were an improvement on earlier Chinese techniques. This became a factor in the emerging esteem for Vajrayāna at the Imperial Court. In the biography of Śubhākara it is said: "All others honored him [Śubhākara] with the humility suitable to disciples. Master I-hsing was greatly esteemed by the Emperor and admired by the scholars of the day. In addition to questions about meditation and wisdom, I-hsing also consulted Shan-wu-wei (=Śubhākara) on the profundities of Yin and Yang i.e. astrology, before he made decisions" (Chou 1945:267).

The Vajrayāna masters were friendly to the eunuchs who wielded extraordinary power in the politics of the T'ang dynasty. The Emperor sent eunuch Kao Li-shih to Śubhākara to bring rain (Chou 1945:268). Most of the eunuchs of the T'ang dynasty favoured Buddhism. Amoghavajra was on very good terms with Yü Ch'ao-ên who was in command of the Imperial Army. "Yü contributed his manor to build the great Chang-ching Temple where a special hall was assigned to Vairocana. When Amoghavajra requested the Emperor in AD 766 to participate in building the Chin-ko Temple in Mt. Wu-t'ai, he particularly mentioned Yü in his memorial, as if his participation in this task was as important as that of the Emperor. ... According to Yü's biography he was stupid and superficial, but pretended to be learned in everything. ... Hui-chung, a monk of the Ch'an Sect, was said to have insulted him purposely in front of the Emperor. If we compare Hui-chung's attitude with that of Amoghavajra, it is easy to understand why the latter got along so well with the court" (Chou 1945:326-7).

The biographies of the three Indian patriarchs of Vajrayāna resident in China emphasise their close connections with the Emperors. The Emperor summoned Amoghavajra to the palace to erect an altar for his abhiṣeka ceremony (Chou 1945:292). In 758-9 Amoghavajra was invited to give the abhiṣeka of a cakravartin to the Emperor (Chou 1945:295). Amoghavajra had presented a memorial to the Emperor Tai-tsung recommending a new translation of the Jen-wang ching for the protection of the country. He re-translated it and the Emperor wrote a preface (Chou 1945:296). The attack of Tibetan, Arab and Samarkand forces was warded off in 742-755 when Amoghavajra recited the Jen-wang ching (Chou 1945:305). The five kinds of homa fire-rites are intended for the person of the Emperor as well as for the nation: "The first kind is performed to remedy one's own misfortune or any public disaster. ... The second kind is to

pray for the prosperity of either an individual or a nation. ... The third kind of homa is performed to subdue an enemy. ... The fourth kind of homa is to summon those in the three worst gatis. ... The fifth kind of homa is performed to seek for love" (Chou 1945: 287 n.16).

Inspite of initial impediments, the beginnings of Vajrayāna are linked up with Emperor Hsüan-tsung. The wise Amoghavajra nourished these links with his successors Emperor Su-tsung and Tai-tsung. Vajrayāna arose and declined with the rise and fall of the T'ang. It shone only in the most brilliant of reigns in the whole of Chinese history, namely that of Hsüan-tsung who is rightly termed *T'ang Ming-huang* 'the Brilliance of T'ang'. The efflorescence of Vajrayāna was coeval with the imperial destiny of China during a reign which from many points of view is the *grand siècle* of Chinese history.

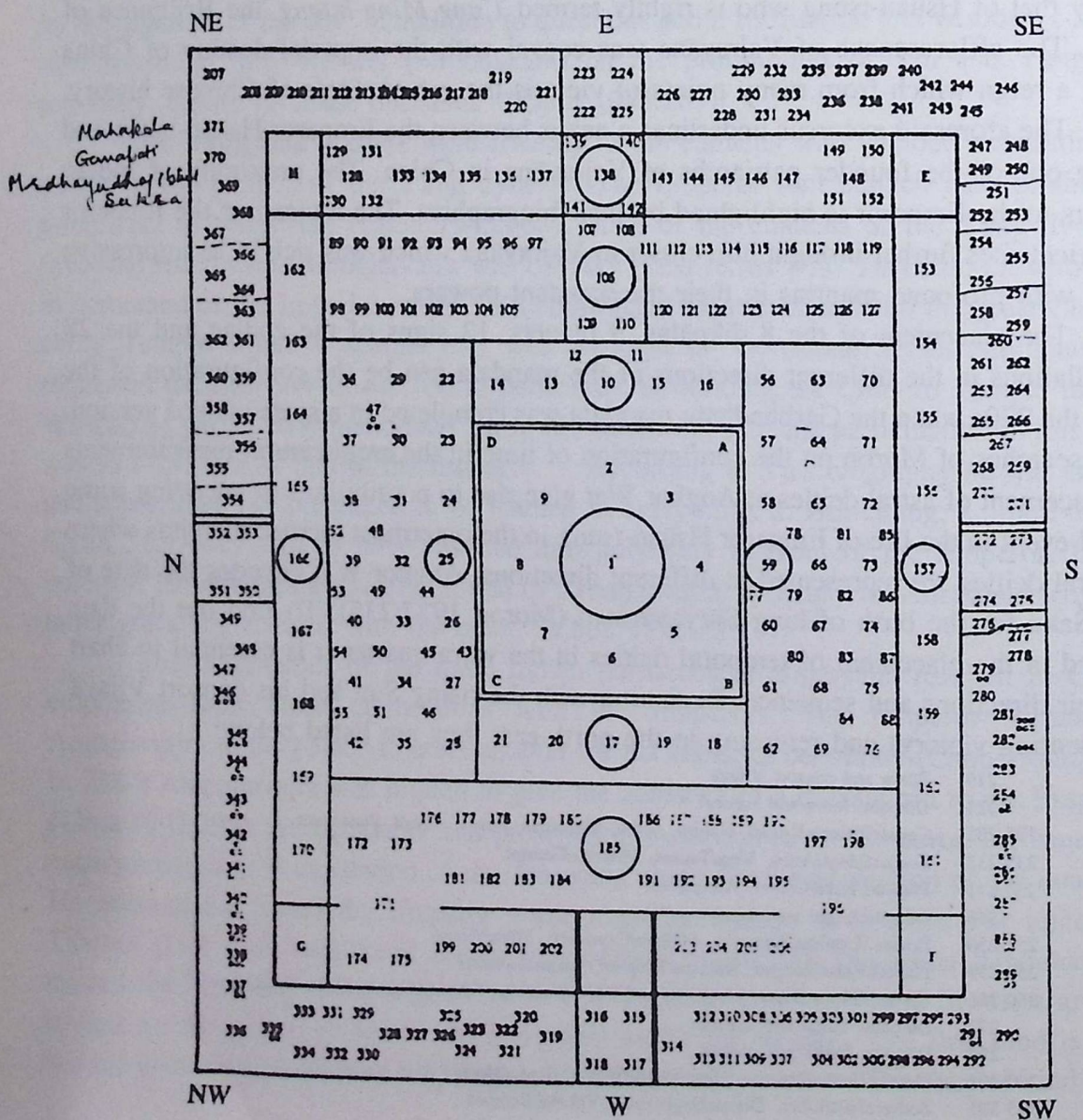
The aforesaid excursus underlines a nexus between the Emperor Hsüan-tsung and I-hsing one of the founder patriarchs of Vajrayāna in China. The proximity of Indian teachers to the Emperor is highlighted by their biographies. The interest of the Emperor in magical rites further brought him closer to Vajrayāna which was rich in its impressive rituals with profound mantras in their transcendant powers.

The placement of the 8 dikpālas, 9 planets, 12 signs of the zodiac and the 28 constellations in the different directions of the maṇḍala can be the configuration of the sky in the 720s when the Garbhadhātu maṇḍala was completed in a systematised version. The researches of Moron on the configuration of time in the architectural measurements and placement of astral deities at Angkor Wat give rise to possibilities of encoding some special event in the life of Emperor Hsüan-tsung in the outermost quarter of vajras where temporal deities are represented in different directions. Angkor Wat encodes the date of 1021 Śaka for the birth of king Sūryavarman (Moron 1977:235). To find out the date encoded in the placement of temporal deities in the vajra-quarter it is essential to chart out their directions and sequence. Beginning with the rising Sun and his consort Vijayā (representing victory) and returning to the north-east they are listed below:

□	219	Sūrya and consort Vijayā
E	221	Dikpāla: Indra and consort
	228-233	Constellations:Kṛttikā, Rohiṇī, Ārdrā, Mṛgaśiras, Puṣya, Āśleṣā, Punarvasu
	235-237	Zodiac:Meṣa/Aries, Vṛṣa/Taurus, Mithuna/Gemini
	239,241	Planets: Ketu/Comet, Āditya/Sun
SE	246	Dikpāla: Agni and Agnāyī
S	254-256	Zodiac:Kumbha/Aquarius, Makara/Capricorn, Mīna/Pisces
	257-259	Planets:Rāhu/Eclipse, Bṛhaspati/Jupiter, Aṅgāraka/Mars
	260-266	Constellations:Hasta, Maghā, Svātī, Pūrvaphalgunī, Uttaraphalgunī, Citrā, Viśākhā
	277	Dikpāla: Yama and consort
SW	290	Dikpāla: Nirṛti and consort
W	300-302	Planets:Budha/Mercury, Śanaiścara/Saturn, Soma/Moon
	303-305	Zodiac:Tulā/Libra, Dhanu/Sagittarius, Vṛścika/Scorpio

	306-312	Constellations:Śravaṇa, Uttarāṣāḍhā, Abhijit, Purvāṣāḍhā Mūla, Jyeṣṭha, Anurādhā
W	314	Dikpāla: Varuṇa
□	327	Candra and consort Candrā
NW	336	Dikpāla: Vāyu and consort
N	354	Dikpāla: Vaiśravaṇa/Kubera
	357-363	Constellations:Dhaniṣṭhā, Śata-bhiṣaj, Pūrva-bhadrapadā, Revatī, Uttara-bhadrapadā, Aśvinī, Bharaṇī
	364-366	Zodiac:Kanyā/Virgo, Karkaṭaka/Cancer, Siṁha/Leo
	368	Planet: Śukra/Venus
NE	207	Dikpāla: Īśāna

To convert these astronomical deities into a chart of the sky for computation, their placing in the maṇḍala is shown below:



If and when we succeed to specify a date or period represented by the time-deities, it should relate to an important event of the reign of Emperor Hsüan-tsung. He had acceded to grant imperial permission to translate the Mahāvairocana-sūtra after the lapse of several years. It should have been done to ward off some untoward occurrence. The crucial dates in the life and reign of the Emperor are listed in the ensuing pages:
Lived: 685-762, Ruled: 712-755

Names of the Emperor
Hsüan-tsung (posthumous temple title/miao hao)
Lung-chi (personal name/hui or ming)
Li Lung-chi (Giles)
T'ang Ming-Huang (commonly known as such)
Wu Huang (name in his life)
Hsüan-tsung Ming-huang-ti (Giles)
Chih tao ta shêng ta ming hsiao (posthumous memorial title given in 762)
Third son of Emperor Jui-tsung

Regnal years

Hsien-t'ien	12.2.712-12.9.712
K'ai-yüan	31.1.713-22.12.713
T'ien-pao	10.2.742

Events

8.9.	685	Date of birth (Moule 1957:58)
25.7.	710	Members of the royal family led by Li Lung-chi killed.
25.7.	710	Members of the royal family led by Li Lung-chi killed empress Wei and proclaimed Jui-tsung emperor (Grousset 1952:150). By his energetic action he placed his father upon the throne.
	711-716	The Arabs often invaded the kingdoms in Central Asia, such as Khwarizm and Samarkand, and they repeatedly asked help from the T'ang court (Chou 1945:309)
8.9.	712	The Emperor Jui-tsung abdicated in favour of his son Li Lung-chi, now remembered as the emperor Hsüan-tsung, who was to have one of the most brilliant reigns in the whole of Chinese history (Grousset 1952:151) He succeeded his father as the sixth Emperor of the T'ang dynasty (Moule 1957:58)

712-714 Arabs reached Tashkent (Grousset 1952:159)

713 Hsing-ch'ing Palace, the third major palace at Ch'ang-an, was developed by the Emperor (Wright 1967:146)

713-720 Emperor dreamt that he had met Śubhākara (Chou 1945:263)

714 Chinese won a resounding victory near Tokmak in the country of the Western Turks (Grousset 1952:159)

715 Chinese army entered Ferghana and restored the king, driving away the Arabian outposts (Grousset 1952:159)

716 Bekchor (Mo-chüeh) ruler of the Mongolian Turks was killed in a revolt and his head sent to the court (Grousset 1952:158)

716 Śubhākara arrived in Ch'ang-an (Chou 1945:263)

717 Śubhākara translated Sanskrit texts at P'u-t'i-yüan by imperial order (Chou 1945:264)

718 Amoghavajra met Vajrabodhi in Java at the age of 14 (Chou 1945:321)

718-731 Princes of Bukhara, Samarkand, Bactria kept sending declarations of vassalage to the Chinese court (Grousset 1952:159)

719 The Emperor increased military operations to check the advances of Tibetans and Arabs (Sha. 1967:34)

719 Vajrabodhi reached Canton (Chou 1945:215)

720 King of Udyāna was rewarded by the Emperor because he refused to cooperate with the Arabs (Chou 1945:309)

720 Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra arrived in China

721-722 Bilgä Qaγan made peace with the empire (Grousset 1952:158)

723 Vajrabodhi translated the Cundā-dhāraṇī (Chou 1945:281)

723 Vajrabodhi translated the STTS for recitation.

724 Śubhākara accompanied the Emperor to Loyang (Chou 1945:265)

724 Empress Wang, Hsüan-tsung's wife, being anxious to have a son, hired a monk who made.....(Chou 1945:320)

725 Mahāvairocana-sūtra translated by Śubhākara and I-hsing (K 427)

726 Susiddhikara translated by Śubhākara (K 432)

727 I-hsing died

729 Gautama siddha compiled a treatise on astrology

730 Vajrabodhi translated the Pañcākṣara-Mañjuśrī-dhāraṇī (Chou 282)

735 Śubhākara passed away at the age of 99 (Chou 1945:270)

736 Chief Minister Li Lin-fu became a virtual dictator (Schirokauer 1978:108)

736,744 Chinese generals won victories over Turkish Khans of the Ili valley (Grousset 1952:159)

737 The Emperor ordered that monks and nuns be assigned to the Bureau of National Worship (Chou 1945:325)

740 Śubhākara buried in the Western Hills of Lung-men (Chou 1945:270)

740 Western monks deported. Dharmacandra, an Indian monk, was allowed to stay by special permission (Chou 1945:320)

741 Tibetan army of 400,000 men advanced into China and attacked the town of Ch'eng-feng and seized Shih-p'u which they held till 748 (Sha. 1967:34)

741 Vajrabodhi passed away

741 Amoghavajra left Canton (Nah-hai) for the Malay Penisula (Chou 290)

742 Invasion by the five kingdoms of Tibetans, Arabs, Sogdians and others repelled by the rites of Vaiśravaṇa (Lokesh Chandra 1959:142-143)

742 An Lu-shan appointed military satrap of Pinglu (Bai 1982:222)

742 Li Lin-fu helped dig the grave of the T'ang dynasty (Bai 1982:221)

742 Emperor changed his reign title to Tian Bao and at the same time called himself 'Emperor with Sage Literary Attainment and Godly Prowess'... (Bai 1982:221)

742 Amoghavajra came to Canton to embark for South India and Sri-lanka (Chou 288)

742-755 Tibetans and Arabs attack (Chou 305)

742-756 Prosperous period (Wright 1967:144)

743 Gigantic statue of Vairocana installed at the Todaiji under orders of the Japanese Emperor Shomu (Lokesh Chandra 37)

745 At the age of 61 the Emperor added to his harem the 26 year old Yang Kuei-fei. She later on fell in love with An Lu-shan (MacNair 1951:85)

746 Amoghavajra returned to the capital (Chou 292)

746 Rain fell because of Tantric rites. Gale calmed down (Chou 1945: 292)

	—	The Emperor summoned the astrologer Lo Kung-Yüan to have a tournament of magic power with Amoghavajra (Chou 303)
	747	The Imperial general Kao Hsien-chih established a Chinese protectorate over Gilgit (Grousset 1952:160)
	748	Chinese temple was built at Tokmak to the west of the Issyk Kul (Grousset 1952:159)
	749	Farmer-soldier system abolished (MacNair 1951:86)
	750	Kao Hsien-chih cleaned the region (Grousset 1952:160)
July	751	Kao Hsien-chih's army annihilated on the banks of the Talas (Grousset 1952:161)
	751	The Lolo kingdom of Nan-chao cut to pieces an imperial army near Lake Ta-li in Yunnan (Grousset 1952:161)
	752	Yang Gouzhong, a worse villain, took over after Li Lin-fu's death in 752 (Bai 1982:221)
	753	Tattva-saṅgraha translated by Amoghavajra (K 1274)
	753	Emperor ordered Amoghavajra to go to Kansu (Chou 293)
	755	Rebellion of An Lu-shan. An Lu-shan was going to occupy Loyang (Chou 1945:269)
	756	Aged Emperor fled to Ssŭch'uan
16.9.	756	The Emperor abdicated in favour of his son (Moule 1957:58)
12.8.	756	Emperor's son Li Heng was proclaimed Emperor
	756	When the capital was recaptured and the T'ang dynasty reestablished, the date was exactly as Amoghavajra had predicted (Chou 295)
	756	Emperor ordered Amoghavajra to return to the capital
	758-759	Amoghavajra was invited to the palace to give the abhiṣeka of a cakravartin to the Emperor (Chou 1945:295)
	760-761	Amoghavajra cured the Emperor (Chou 1945:295)
3.5.	762	Emperor Hsüan-tsung died at the age of 78 (Moule 1957:58)

23. MĀRA-VIJAYA-STOTRA

reconstructed from its Chinese transliteration

Shih-chia-mu-ni-fo-ch'êng-tao-tsai-p'u-ti-shu-hsiang-mo-tsan (Japanese pronunciation *Shakamuni-butsu-jōdōzai-bodaiju-gōma-san* T 941: vol. 19.941, S 25.15, Z 1.2.5, Bagchi 2.638 no. 28) is the transcription of a Sanskrit stotra to Śākyamuni Buddha, by an anonymous author. Its title indicates that it is a hymn to victory over Māra under the bodhi tree. The original Sanskrit title is preserved at the end of the last stanza in Chinese transliteration. Its transliterator into Chinese as well as the date are unknown. It is not found in the Ming edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka catalogued by Nanjio. In the Taisho edition it is placed alongwith the works of Dānapala (Chin. Shih-hu, Jap. Segō) who worked in China from AD 982 to 1000. A study of the Chinese transliterations of Sanskrit texts by Dānapala and its comparison with the present stotra may help us to assign a probable authorship, though the imperfections in reading the Sanskrit as discerned from the transliteration hardly warrant us to ascribe it to the master: Dānapala.

The original Sanskrit manuscript must have been fairly faulty or it was read wrongly in a number of cases by the person transcribing it into Chinese. These misreadings can reveal the Indic script in which the original manuscript was written. The misreadings are noted below:

1b	nya for tya	8d	nān for nāḥ
1b	tun for taṁ	9a	nan for nāḥ
1c	muṅ for maṁ	9b	bhya for tya
2d	haṁ for bhuṁ	9c	laḥ for lān
4a	to-du for ta-nuṁ	9c	de for do
5a	yi for ya	10b	ti for ta (in śīta-)
5b	ru for ra (in sphurad-)	10d	van for viḥ (in raviḥ)
6a	ru for ra (in pāṇḍura-)	11b	ṭṛ for nṛ (in nṛṇāṁ)
6d	gha for mpa	11d	tāṁ for tāḥ
6d	tha for taiḥ	11d	punṣma for puṣpa
7a	bhi for bha	12a	nṛ for tra
7c	bhi for nti	12c	ṇai for ṇāṁ (in nṛṇāṁ)
7d	kti for nti	12c	ca for va (in śiva-)

The Chinese transliteration of stanza 6cd leads us to the presumption that the Sanskrit manuscript was faded and illegible and that the transliterator tried to make some thing out of it. The tentative reconstruction is based on semantic considerations.

In stanza 8, the Chinese transliteration has three miniscule characters after ■■ which correspond to *lya*. This can be an alternate marginal or inserted reading from the original Sanskrit manuscript itself: *kalya-sukham* in which case *kalya* would correspond to *kalyāṇa*.

The corrected text is reproduced below in Devanagari letters:

जित-मार-कलिं जगदेकगुरुं सुर-यक्ष-महोरग-दैत्य-नतम् ।
चतु-सत्य-सुदेशित-मार्गमिमं गुण-मेघमहं प्रणमामि सदा॥ १
भव-भीम-महोदधि-मध्य-गतं कृपणार्त्त-र वं समवेक्ष्य जनम् ।
परिमोचयितुं य इह प्रणिधिं प्रचकार विभुंस्तमहं प्रणतः ॥ २
गिरिराज-निभं शरदिन्दु-धियं सुमुखं सुभुजं वर-रूप-धरम् ।
सुगतं गतमप्रतिमं सुगतं प्रणतो ऽस्मि सदा जगदर्थकरम्॥ ३
कनक-प्रभया परिपीत-तनुं वर-दुन्दुभि-तोयद-वल्गु-रुतम् ।
गज-हंस-विलम्बित-धीर-गतं शिरसा ऽभिनतो ऽस्मि गुणैक-निधिम्॥ ४
तरुणार्क-समैरचलैर्नयनैः स्फुरद्-उग्र-महाशनि-भीम-रवैः ।
नमुचि-प्रहरैरसि-शक्तिधरैश् चलितो ऽसि विभो न हि कुविकृतैः॥ ५
लवली-फल-पाण्डुर-कर्णपुटाः कुच-भार-विनामित-गात्र-लताः ।
न मत्तास्त्वामशक्नुवन् नागसुताः श्वसितैः स्खलितैरपि कम्पयितुम् ॥ ६
तरवः कुसुम-स्तबकाभरणा बहु-रत्न-सहस्र-चिताश्च नगाः ।
न तथाभिरतिं जनयन्ति सतां जनयन्ति यथा तव वीर गुणाः ॥ ७
स्फुट-चित्र-पदं बहु-युक्ति-युतं गमकं वचनं तव कर्ण-सुखम् ।
शुभ-मार्ग-फलं प्रसमीक्ष्य जना न श्रुणन्ति पुनः तरिते ऽन्यवचः॥ ८
इति वः शरणं समवेक्ष्य जना न पतन्त्यपि कल्प-शतैर् निरये ।
विनिहत्य च दोष-रिपून् बहुलान् परियन्ति शुभं वर-मोक्ष-पुरम् ॥ ९
तव सौम्यतया ऽप्यभिभूतो ऽवनौ न विराजति शीतकरो गगने ।
तव काञ्चन-कुंकुम-सप्रभया प्रभया ऽभिहतो न विभाति रविः ॥ १०
तव नाथ शुभे वदनाम्बुरुहे नयन-भ्रमरा निपतन्ति नृणाम् ।
प्रतिबुद्ध-दले कमले विमले भ्रमरा इव पुष्प-शताकुलिताः ॥ ११

इति तोटक-मन्त्र-वरैरतुलैः परिकीर्त्य मया तव वर्ण-लवान् ।
यदुपार्जितमद्य शुभं विपुलं शिवमस्तु ततो भुवि देव-नृणाम्॥ १२

॥ मार–विजय–स्तोत्रं समाप्तमिति ॥

釋迦牟尼佛成道在菩提樹降魔讚

ROMANISATION OF THE CHINESE TRANSCRIPTION

erh tuo mo lo chia lin reh wo hi chia yu lun
su luo yao ch'i ch'a mo hu luo wo ni hi yeh tang tun
tzan du suo ju su ni shih tuo mo jian mi mung
yu na ming chien mo ham bo luo na mo mi suo nuo /1/

bho... pi mo mo hu nah ti mor thor yeh... tan
ch'i li po nah... luo... suo mo fey ch'i shih yeh reh nan
po li mor zuo yi tun yeh ye heh po luo... ...
po luo zuo chia luo wei... suo tuo mo... po luo na tuo /2/

ni li luo reh ni bho sher luo ni dan ti yean
su mu ch'ien su pu reh... luo lu po thor...
su wo... wo tuo mo po luo ti... su wo tan
po lo na tu si mi suo na reh wo ta thor chia leng /3/

chia tang jye po luo bho yeh po li pi ta lu nah
...luo nah na lan pi tu yeh na... lhuo... lhu tan
wo reh... suo wei lan mi... tor ti luo wo...
shih luo suo pi tang tu si mi... nai chia ni ti /4/

tuo lhu nah chia suo mei luo zuo luo tang ye nai
suo bhu lhu nah wo lor mo huo nah ni pi mo luo fei
tang mu jih po luo huo... luo si sher ch'i ti thor...
zuo li tu si wei pu luo tang hsi tu wei ch'i li tai /5/

'lhuo... li bhor lhuo pan nu lhu chien na pu za
zhih zuo bhor luo wei tang mi tuo wo tar luo lhuo
tang mo nah suo tuo... shih ju lhu tang yean su...
shih... si tai suo ch'u li thu luo pi chia chya ye tun/6/

tuo luo... ju su mo suo tuo... chia pi luo na
... hoong lor tar rang suo huo suo luo jyi... shih zuo rang wo

rang tuo tha pi luo... reh pao yeh pi suo tan
reh rang yeh ch'i ti yeh tha tuo... wei luo... na /7/

suo bhu za jyi tar luo po tan... hoong yu ch'i ti yu tan
wo mo jian... zuo nan tuo... chia luo na su ch'ien
lin bhor mo luo wo bho lan po luo suo mi ch'i shih yeh
reh nan na... ...nan ti pu nor tuo li ti huo yeh... zuo /8/

ye ti... sher luo... suo mo fey ch'i shih yeh reh nan
rang por tuo bhi yeh pi chieh la po sher tai ni luo
wei ni huo bhor yeh zuo ni saa li p'eu... hang li
por li yan ti... bhor... luo... ch'i jha pu... /9/

tuo... sai mo yeh tuo yeh por yeh pi pu tuo...
rang wei luo reh ti shih ti chia... wo wo nai
tuo... chien zuo rang ju ju mo suo por luo bhor yen
por luo bhor yeh pi huo tu rang wei suo ti luo woeon/10/

tuo... rang tha shu pih... nuo nan mei lhu shi
rang yeh rang bhor... mo luo ni por tor... tor li...
por luo ti mei thor nuo li chia mo li wie mo li
bhor luo mo luo ye... pen saa mo sher... ju li tan /11/

ye ti tu za chia wen niah li ti... ...luo tu li
por li zhi tuo yeh mo yeh tuo... ...luo na lan...
yeh now po... tuo mo ni yeh shu bhor wei pu lan
shih zer mo suo tu tuo tu pu wei ni... niah li nai
mo luo wei roh yeh suo tu tar... suo mo por tuo mi ti /12/

गु ण मे द्य म हं प्र ण मा मि स दा

虞拏銘引 健麼唅二 鉢囉二合 拏麼引 弭娑娜引三

च तु स त्य सु दे शि त मा ग मि मं (मुं)

拶覩娑襻丁烈反 素禰引五 始多麼引 儉弭蒙平一

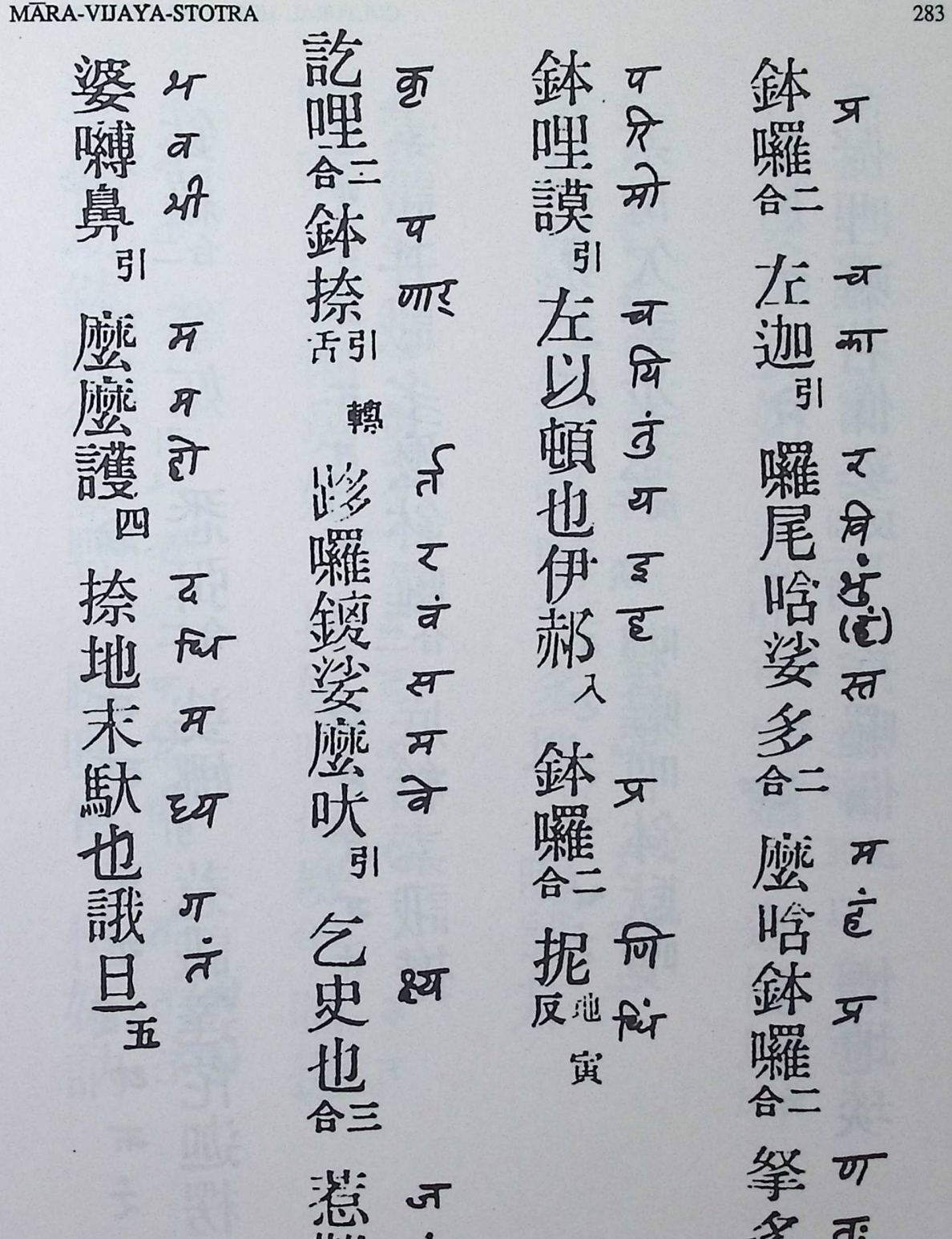
सु र य क्ष म हो र ग दै त्य (न्य) न तं (तुन्)

素囉藥乞叉二合 麼護引 囉誐禰引三 儞也二合 曩頓四

जि त मा र क लिं ज ग दे क गु रुं

爾而以反 多平音 麼引 羅迦嚧一 惹誐禰引 迦虞嚕二

प्र च का र वि धुं(हं) स्त म हं प्र ण तः



鉢囉二合 左迦引 囉尾唅娑多二合 麼唅鉢囉二合 拏多都各反

प रि मो च यि तुं य इ ह प णि धिं

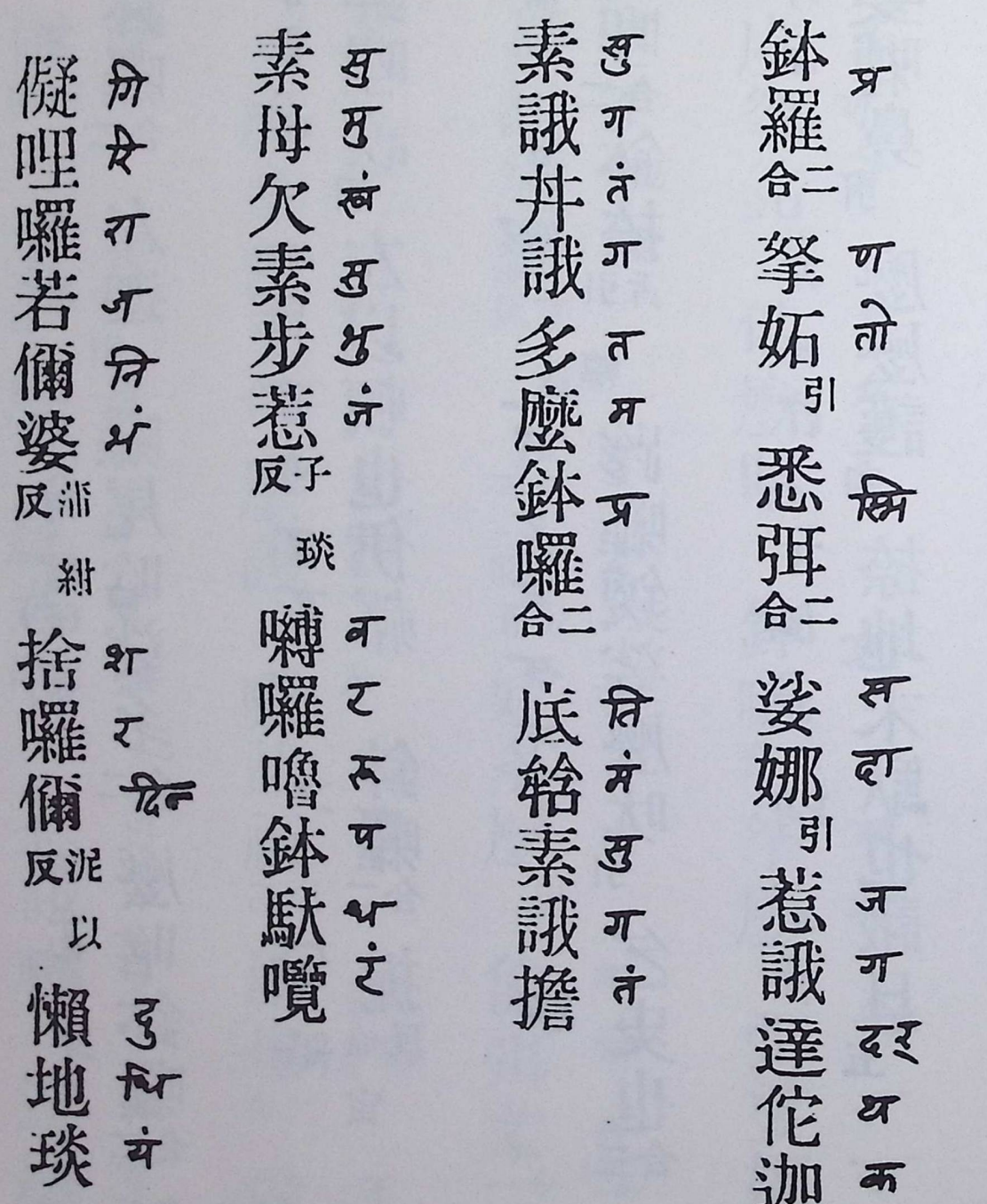
鉢哩謨引 左以頓也伊郝入 鉢囉二合 抳地寅反

कृ प णाऽ र्त र वं स म वे क्ष्य ज नं

訖哩二合 鉢捺引舌轉 跢囉鑊娑麼吠引 乞史也三合 惹難上

भ व भी म म हो द धि म ध्य ग तं

婆嚩鼻引 麼麼護四 捺地末馱也誐旦五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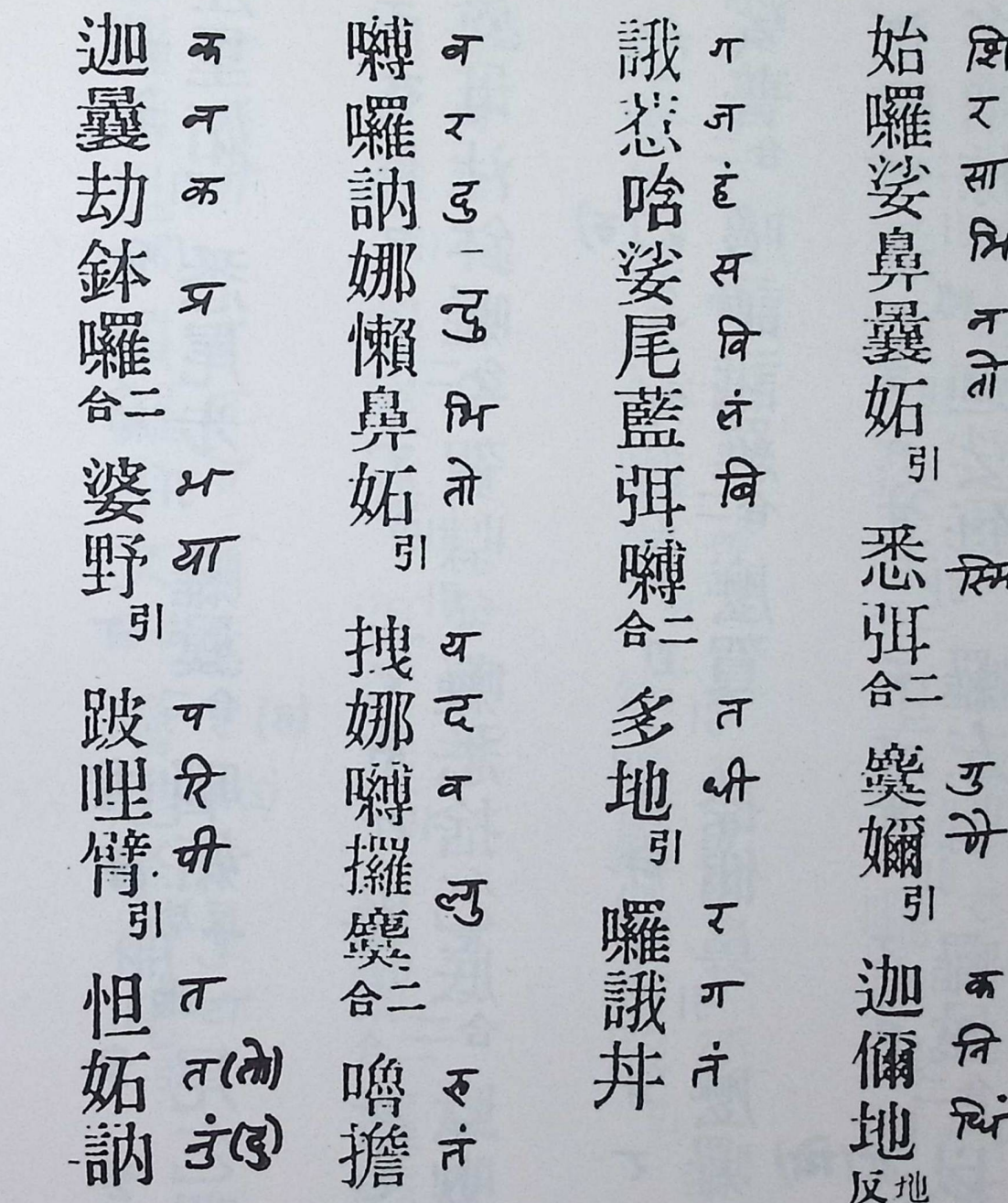
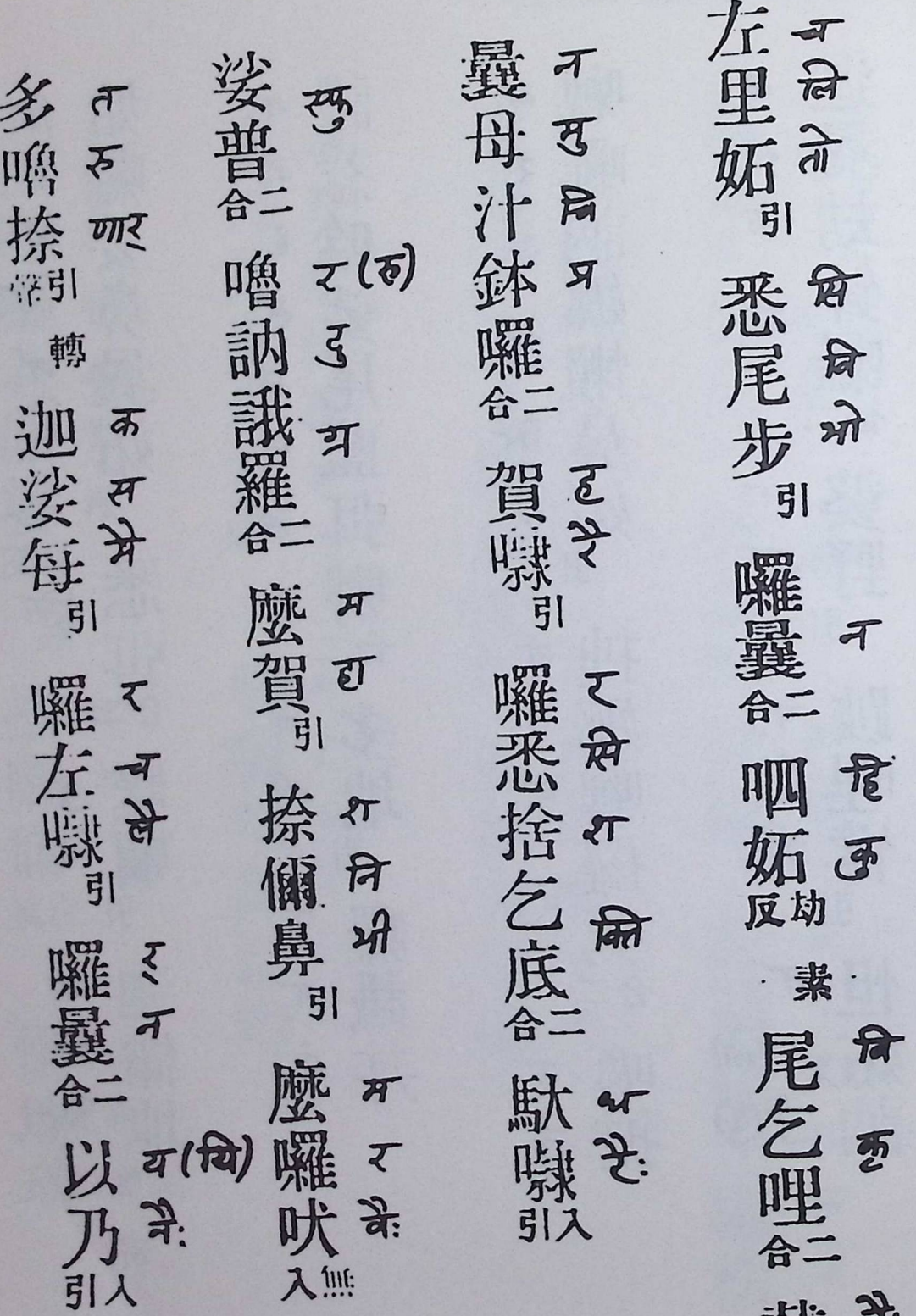
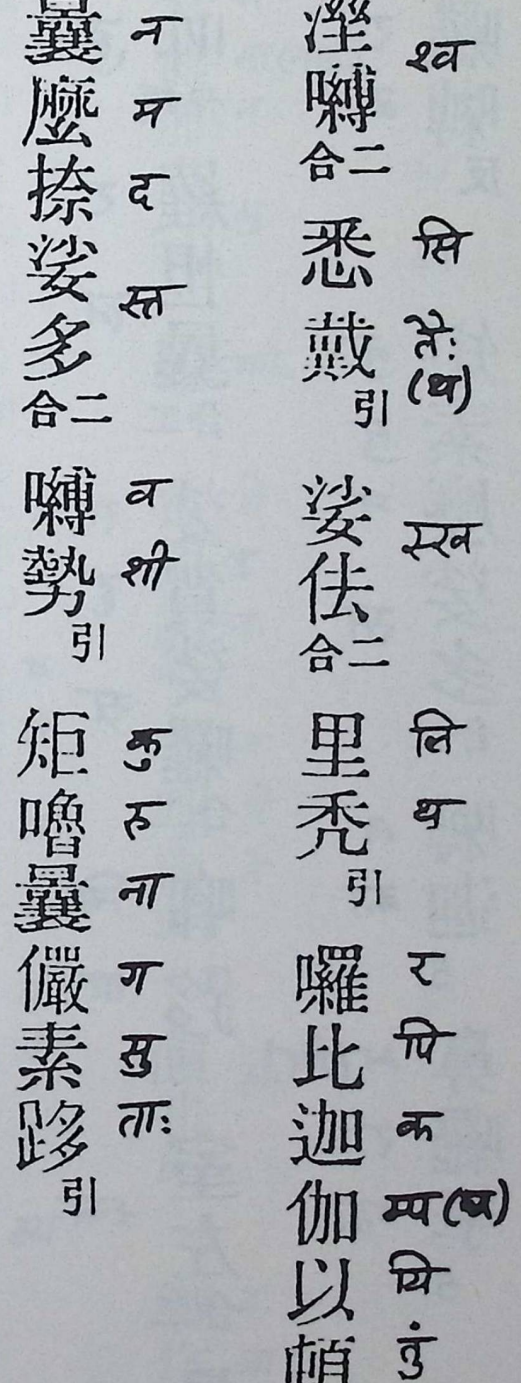
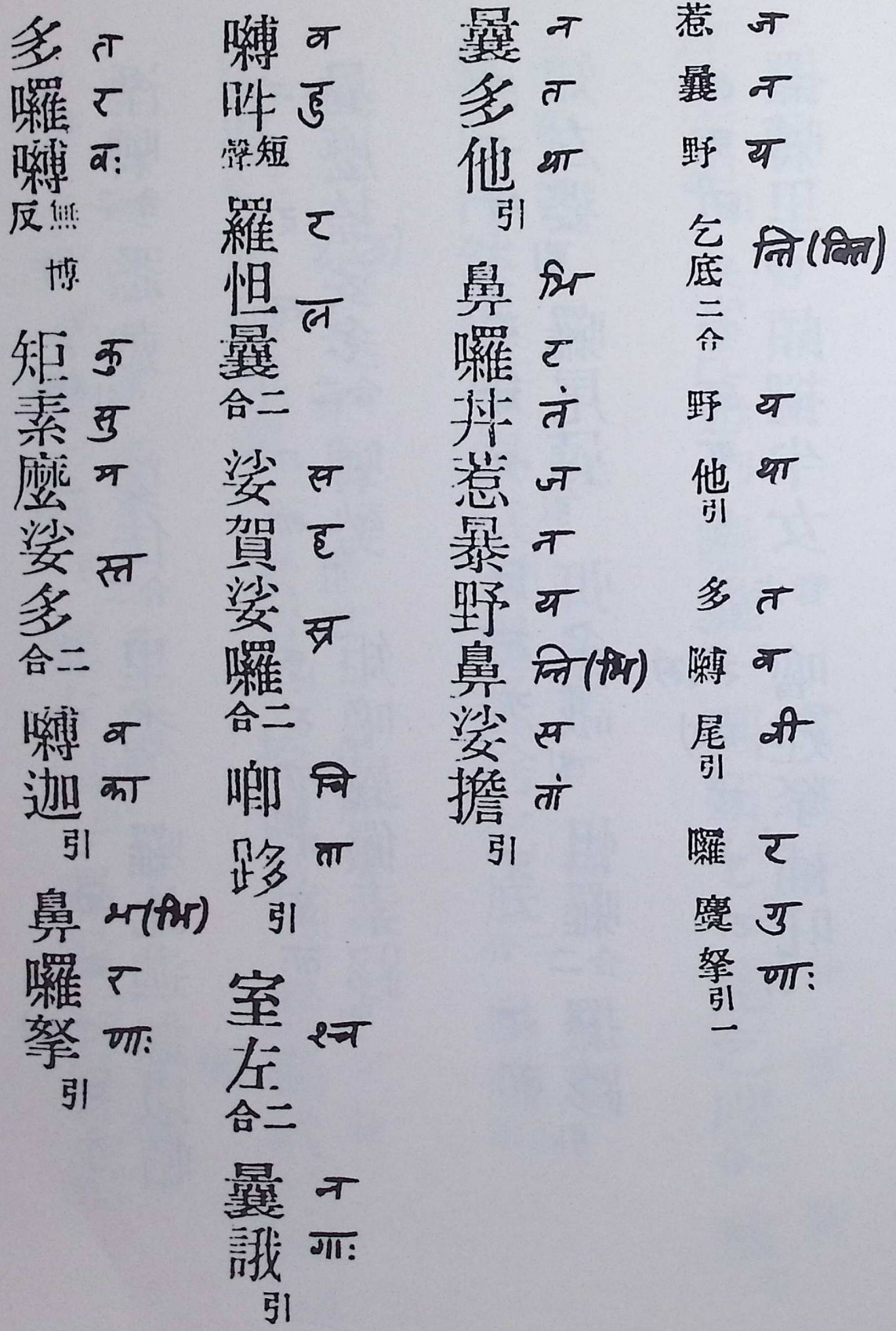
素誐丹誐多麼鉢囉二合 底舸素誐擔
素毋欠素步惹反子琰 嚩囉嚕鉢駄囉
儗哩囉若儞婆反蒲紺 捨囉儞反泥以 懶地琰




左里妬引 悉尾步引 囉曩二合 呬妬劫反 尾乞哩二合 戴引
曩母汁鉢囉二合 賀嚩引 囉悉捨乞底二合 馱嚩引入
娑普二合 嚕訥誐囉二合 麼賀引 捺儞鼻引 麼囉吠無入引蓋反聲
多嚕捺引轉 迦娑每引 囉左嚩引 囉曩二合 以乃引入





惹 ज
曩 न
野 य
乞底二合 न्ति(क्ति)
野 य
他引 था
多 त
嚩 व
尾引 वी
囉 र
麌 गु
拏引一 णाः

曩 न
多 त
他引 था
鼻 भि
囉 र
丼 तं
惹 ज
暴 न
野 य
鼻 न्ति(भि)
娑 स
擔引 तां

嚩 व
吽 हु
短聲
羅 र
怛 ल
曩二合
娑 स
賀 ह
娑 स्र
囉二合
唧 चि
跢引 ता
室 श्च
左二合
曩 न
誐引 गाः

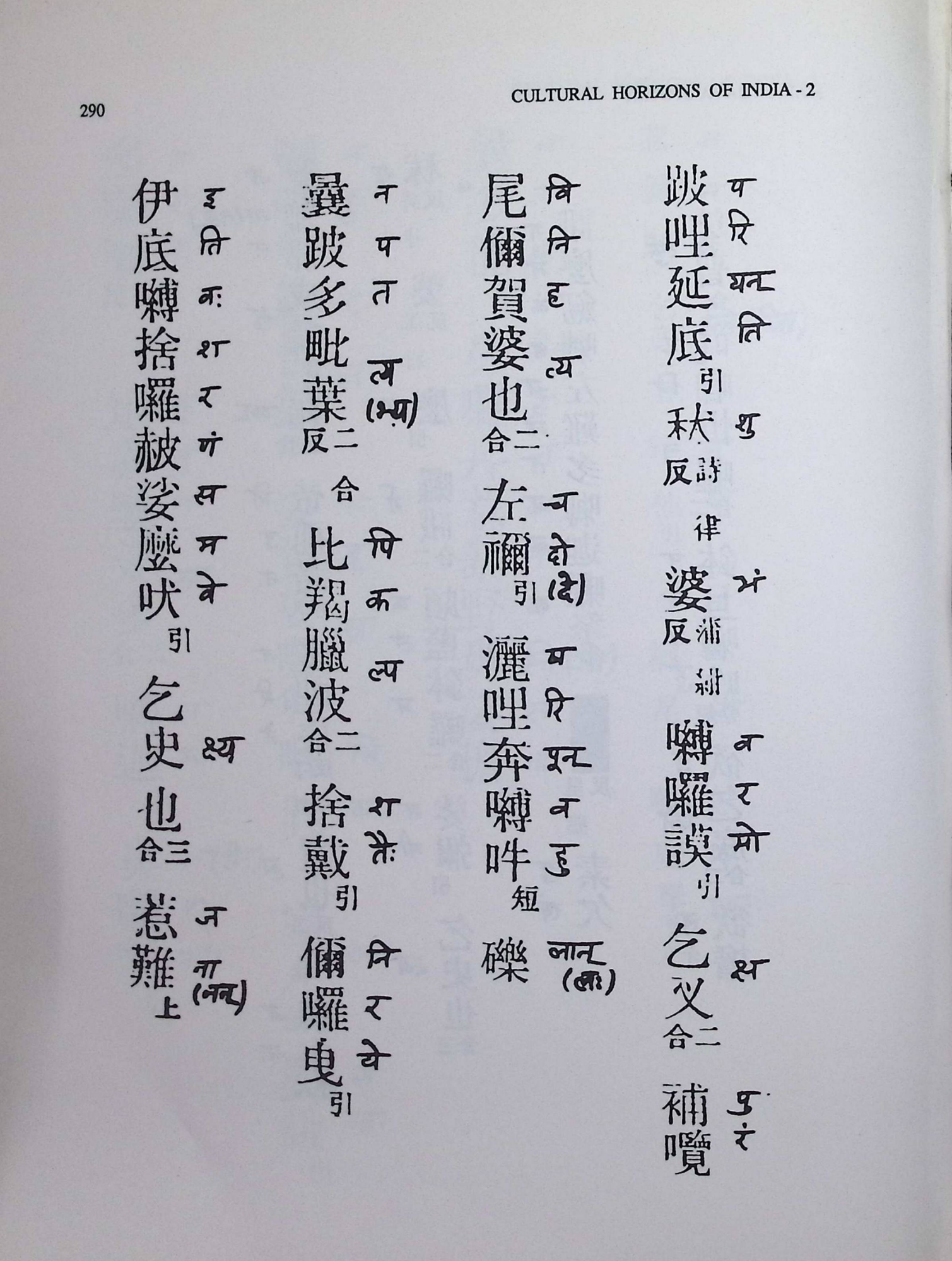
多 त
囉 र
嚩 वः
無博反
矩 कु
素 सु
麼 म
娑 स्त
多二合
嚩 व
迦引 का
鼻 भ(भि)
囉 र
拏引 णाः

惹難那戍(喻二合)難(引上)帝補諾(入呼)多哩底(丁異反引)賀也(二合反)嚩作(入呼)

林(反詩律)婆(蒲紺反)塵(引)囉誐(二合)頗藍鉢囉(二合)娑彌(引)乞史也(三合)

誐塵劒嚩左難多嚩迦囉拏(二合)[redacted](里藥反)素欠

娑普(二合)吒唧怛囉(二合)鉢旦嚩吽(短聲)欲乞底(二合)欲擔

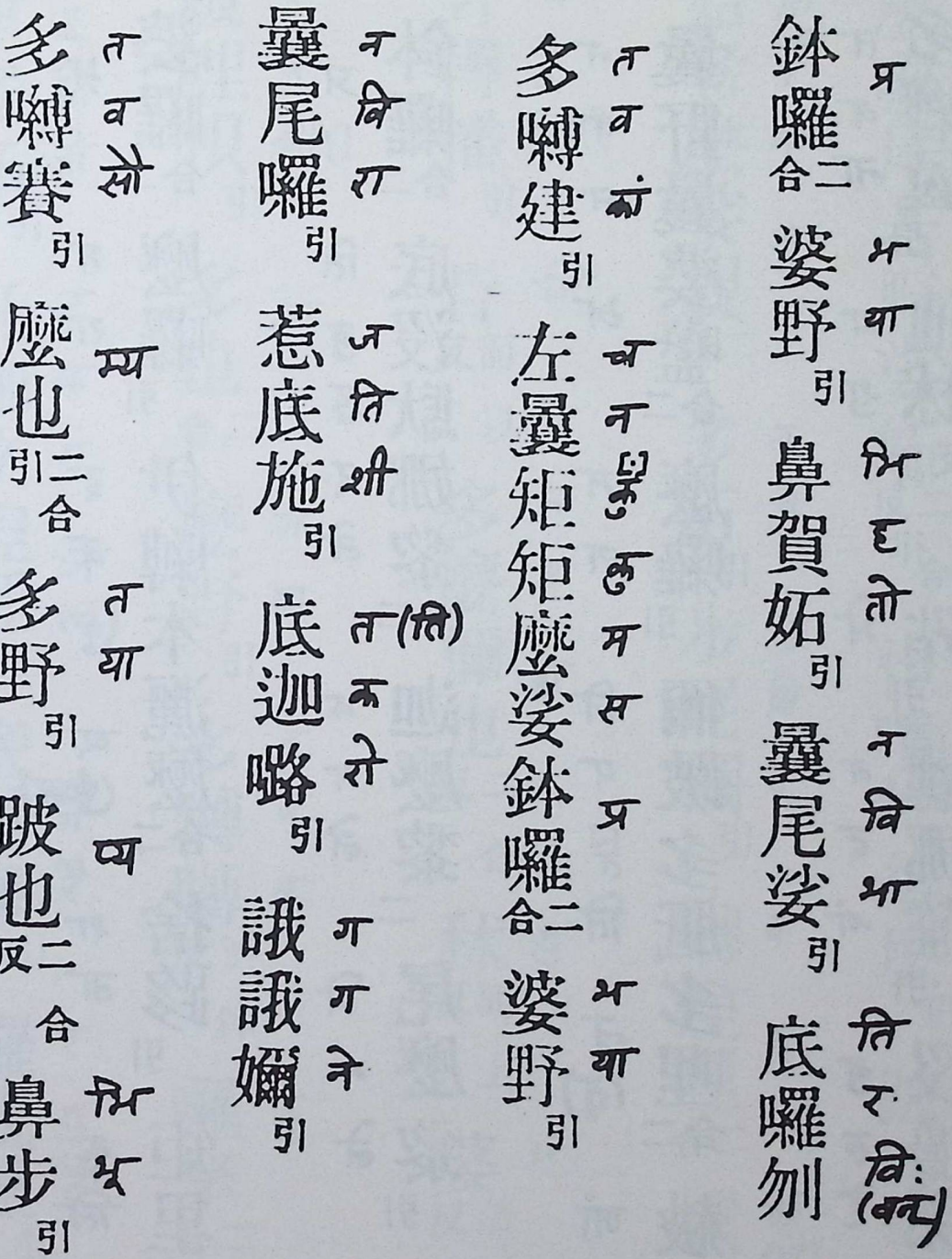


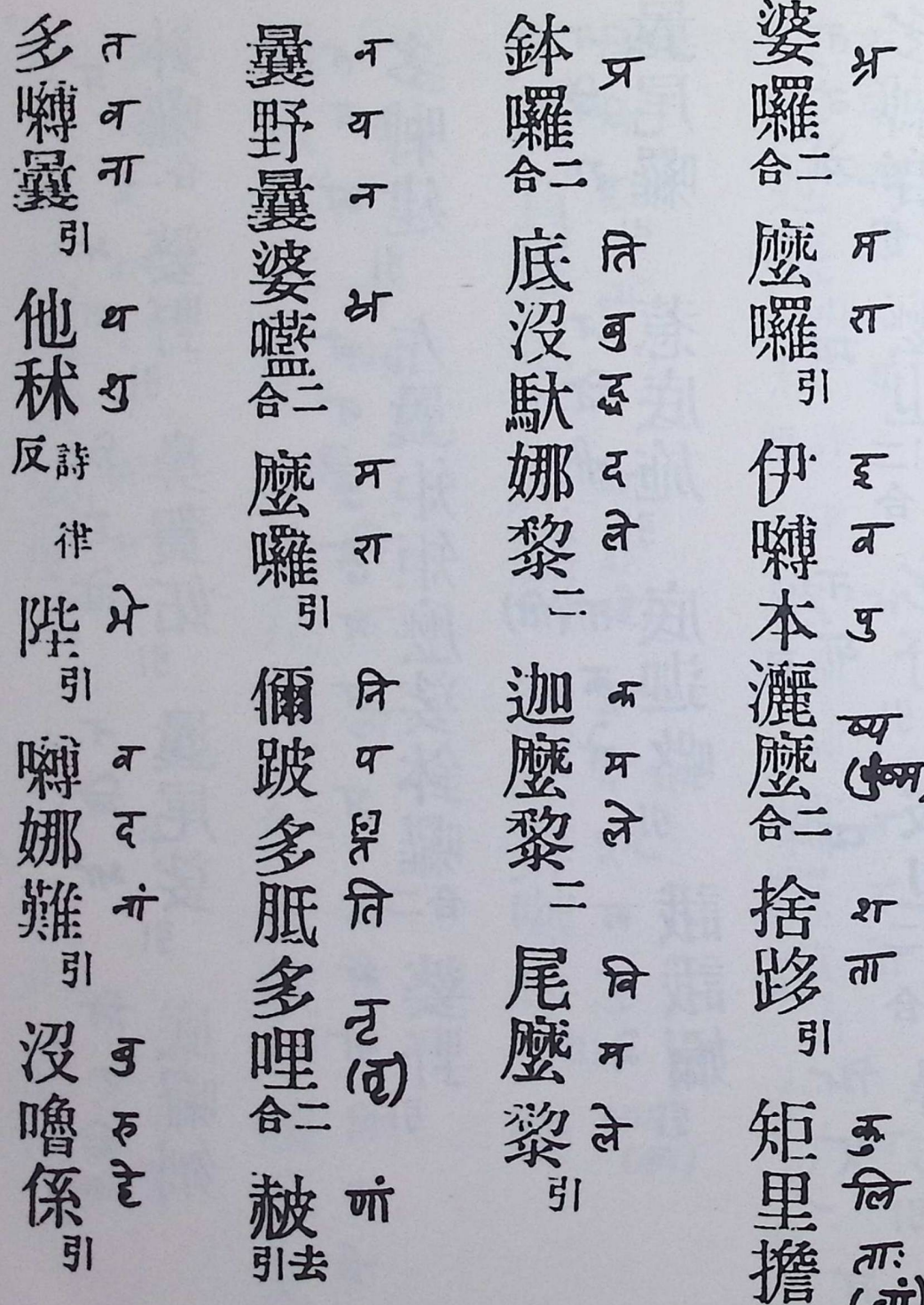
鉢囉二合 प्र
婆野引 भ या
鼻賀妬引 भि ह तो
曩尾娑引 न वि भा
底囉刎 ति र वि: (वन्)

多嚩建引 त व कां
左曩矩矩麼娑鉢囉二合 च न कुं कु म स प्र
婆野引 भ या

曩尾囉引 न वि रा
惹底施引 ज ति शी
底迦嚕引 त (ति) क रो
誐誐嬭引 ग ग ने

多嚩賽引 त व सौ
麼也引二合 म्य
多野引 त या
跛也反二合 प्य
鼻步引 भि भू
多嚩 त व




婆囉二合 麼囉引 伊嚩本灑麼二合 捨跢引 矩里擔引
鉢囉二合 底沒馱娜黎二 迦麼黎二 尾麼黎引
曩野曩婆嚂二合 麼囉引 儞跛多胝多哩二合 赦去引
多嚩曩引 他秋反詩律 陛引 嚩娜難引 沒嚕係引

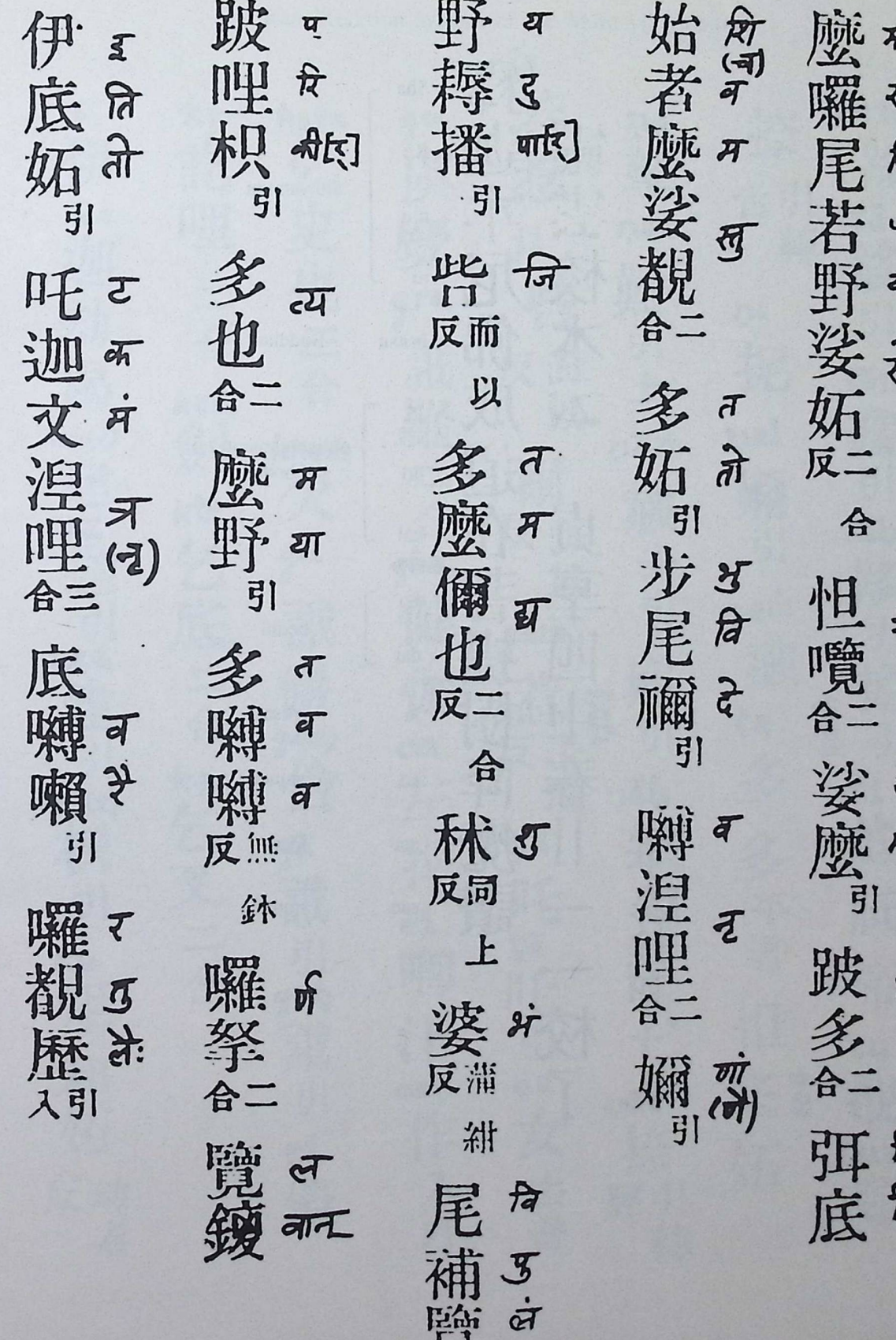
麼囉尾若野娑妬二合反 怛嚩二合 娑麼引 跛多二合 弭底

始者麼娑覩二合 多妬引 步尾禰引 囀涅哩二合 嬭引

野耨播引 呰而以反 多麼儞也二合反 秫同上反 婆蒲紺反 尾補

跛哩枳引 多也二合 麼野引 多囀囀無鉢反 囉拏二合 覽鑊

伊底妬引 吒迦文涅哩三合 底囀嬾引 囉覩歷引入



釋迦牟尼佛成道在菩提樹降魔讚

顯雲校本云　貞享四中春廿一一校了

淨嚴　四十九

Sha Ka mu ni	Śākyamuni	
britsu	Buddha	
jō dō zai	enlightenment saṁbodhi	
bo dai	bodhi	
ju	vṛkṣa	
gō	conquer	
ma	Māra	
san	stotra	

The transliteration system of the Māra-vijaya-stotra

(r)ta 跢 tā 跢引 tāṁ 擔引 tāḥ 跢引 擔引 ti 底 胝 帝 tu 覩 tuṁ 頓

捺 引轉舌 ṇi 抳 ṇai 嬭引 ṇaṁ 赧 ta 多 多 平音 怛 底 妬

ṇa 拏 ṇan 難引上 ṇāṁ 赧去引 嬭引 ṇāḥ 拏引 拏引一 ṇār 捺引轉聲

ja 若 惹 ji 呰 而以反 爾 而以反 jaṁ 惹 子琰反 ṭa 吒 ṭā 吒引 ḍa 女 去音

gu 虞 麌 gra 誐 羅 二合 gha 健 伽 ca 左 拶 ci 唧 汁 caḥ 作 入呼

kṣya 乞 史 也 三合 khaṁ 欠 ga 誐 儼 ga(r) 儉 gā 誐引 gāḥ 誐引 gi 儗

kṛ 訖 哩 二合 kaṁ 劍 kti 乞 底 二合 kṣa 乞 叉 二合

i 伊 ka 迦 劫 羯 ka(r) 建 kā 迦引 kāṁ 建引 kī(r) 枳引 ku 矩 知 妬 劫素反

nṛ 涅哩二合 ne 嬭引 naiḥ 乃入引 naṁ 難 難上 naḥ 諾入呼

dhya 馱也 na 曩 那 暴 nā 曩引 曩 難上 難 nāṁ 難引 ni 儞 nu 訥

ddha 馱 dya 儞也二合反 dha 馱 dhi 地 dhiṁ 地地寅反 地寅反 dhī 地引

din 儞泥以反 du 嬾 耨 訥 de 禰引 dai 禰引三 do 禰引 daṁ 旦

taḥ 多都各反 tha 他禿引 thā 他引 da 娜捺 dar 達 dā 娜引

儞也二合 tra 怛囉二合 涅哩三合 tiṁ traṁ 怛嚩二合

tna 怛曩二合 tya 襻丁烈反 多也二合 毘葉二合反 婆也二合 bhya

tṛ for nṛ 多哩二合 to 底丁異反引 taiḥ 戴引 to 妬引 taṁ 擔 丼 頓 旦

ra 囉羅嚕 rā 囉引 囉 ri 哩 ru 嚕 ruṁ 嚕 rū 嚕 rai 嚩引

ya 野藥拽也以 yan 延 yā 野引 yi 以 yu 欲 ye 曳引 yaṁ 琰

mu 母 me 銘引 mai 每引 mo 謨引 maṁ 蒙平一文 鞈 mya 麼也二合引

bhra 婆囉二合 婆嚂二合 ma 麼末 mā 麼引 麼 mi 弭 mī 彌引

bhī 鼻引 bhu 步 bhū 步引 bhe 陛引 bho 步引 bhaṁ 婆蒲紺反

ba/va 嚩 bi? 弭嚩二合 bu 沒 bha 婆 婆蒲紺反 鼻 bhā 婆引 bhī 鼻

pu 補本 pūn 奔 pta 跛多二合 pya 跛也二合叉 pra 鉢囉二合 pha 頗

nti 乞底二合 鼻 ndu 娜嬾 pa 跛鉢 pār 播引 pāṁ 半 pi 比 pī 臂引

sau 賽引 skha 娑佉二合 sta 娑多二合 stu 娑覩二合 sto 娑妬二合反

śva 濕嚩二合 ṣa 灑 ṣpa 灑縛二合 sa 娑 sā 洗 si 悉 su 素

śi 勢引 śu 秫詩律反 秫同上 śca 室左二合 śru 戍嚕二合

ve 吠引 vaiḥ 吠無畜反入引呪 vaṁ 鑁 vaḥ 嚩無博反 ṣa 捨捺 śi 始

lpa 臘波二合 va 嚩 vā 嚩無鉢反 者 vāṁ 鑁 vi 尾 viḥ 刎 vī 尾引 u

le 黎引 lai 嘞引 laiḥ 曆引入 laṁ 藍覽 lgu 擺麼二合

rṇa 囉拏二合 rha 囉曷二合 ḷa 擺覽 lāṁ 磔 li 里 liṁ 嚟 lī 里引

rai 賴引 raiḥ 嘞入引 ro 嚕引 raṁ 曪 rga 囉誐二合

hya 賀也二合反

hi 吸 hu 吽短 吽短聲 he 係引 ho 護引 護 ham 唅

sphu 娑普二合 smi 悉弭二合 sra 娑囉二合 ha 賀 郝入 hā 賀引

24. WAS THE MANCHU CANON A KANJUR OR A TRIPIṬAKA?*

The Manchu Tripiṭaka was known so far through references in Chinese texts. No physical verification of its contents had been possible. By a lucky coincidence Professor Charles R. Bawden (1980:65-84) has come across a volume which enlightens us about its contents and thereby affirms the history of its translation.

The details of the Manchu Tripiṭaka in the Wei-tsang t'ung-chih and the contents and physical description of its only available single volume given by Bawden enable us to define its character precisely:

(1) According to the Wei-tsang t'ung-chih (Bawden 1980:76) the *first* 14 volumes of the Manchu Tripiṭaka contained the Ta-pan-jo ching or Mahā-Prajñāpāramitā which is the title given by Hsüan-tsang to his translation of 12 different Prajñāpāramitā texts completed in AD 659.

(2) Though these 12 Prajñāpāramitā texts were brought together in a collection, and given a collective title, the distinctive character of each text was stressed by assigning consecutive 'Book' (*hui*) numbers from 1 to 12. The twelve texts are:

Book 1 Śata-sāhasrikā in 100,000 ślokas
Book 2 Pañcaviṁśati-sāhasrikā in 25,000 ślokas
Book 3 Aṣṭādaśa-sāhasrikā in 18,000 ślokas
Book 4 Daśa-sāhasrikā in 10,000 ślokas
Book 5 Aṣṭa-sāhasrikā in 8,000 ślokas
Book 6 Devarāja-pravara-prajñāpāramitā
Book 7 Saptaśatikā in 700 ślokas
Book 8 Nāgaśrī-paripṛcchā or Pañcaśatikā in 500 ślokas
Book 9 Vajracchedikā in 300 ślokas
Book 10 Adhyardhaśatikā in 150 ślokas
Book 11 Pañcapāramitā-nirdeśa in 1,800 ślokas
Book 12 Suvikrānta-vikrami-paripṛcchā in 1,200 ślokas.

As these were lumped under a single collective title by Hsüan-tsang, it has created confusion in the minds of Tibetologists and Mongolists who are accustomed to the Tibetan and Mongolian Kanjurs wherein they are treated as independent texts and assigned separate titles following the Sanskrit originals.

* "and the fact that, according to Fuchs, the Manchu translation was based to a great extent on Chinese originals, leaves open the question as to whether one should refer to it as a Kanjur or a Tripiṭaka" (Bawden 1980:65).

(3) The discovery of a volume of the Manchu Tripiṭaka confirms that Manchu followed Hsüan-tsang's version. It is evident that serial numbers of 'Books' (*hui*) of Manchu follow the Chinese precisely. Here below we give the correspondence of available Manchu books to Chinese:

Book 5 Aṣṭasāhasrikā (Nj le, Kl. 5, T. 220.5)
Book 6 Devarāja-pravara-prajñāpāramitā, a part of the Suvikrānta-vikrami-paripṛcchā (Nj lf, Kl. 6, T. 220.6)
Book 7 Saptaśatikā spoken by Mañjuśrī (Nj lg, Kl. 7, T. 220.7)
Book 8 Nāgaśrī-paripṛcchā (Nj lh, Kl. 8, T. 220.8)
Book 9 Vajracchedikā (Nj li, Kl. 9, T. 220.9)
Book 10 Adhyardha-śatikā or Prajñāpāramitā-naya (Nj lj, Kl. 10, T. 220.10)

(4) In the Chinese Tripiṭaka, these 12 Prajñāpāramitā texts are found in several translations. For instance, Book 2 of Hsüan-tsang's version, namely the Pañcaviṁśati-sāhasrikā, was translated three times before him: by Mokṣala in AD 291 (Nj 2, K2), by Kṵmārajīva in AD 404 (Nj 3. K3), and by Dharmarakṣa in AD 286 (Nj 4, K4). These earlier translations are treated as independent titles, and they occur in the Ming Tripiṭaka as serial numbers 2,3,4. While dealing with the Manchu, references to these earlier translations becomes misleading. We have to be careful in correlating the Manchu to the Chinese titles. This question arises because of the comments of Bawden (p. 72): "This title may be reconstructed as 五會般若波羅蜜經 It differs from those which precede it in not containing words corresponding to 'eight thousand', and in apparently belonging to a series of texts, of which it is the fifth". As already indicated above, Manchu refers to the Chinese translation by Hsüan-tsang, whose fifth book is the Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā. When there are two or more Chinese translations of a particular Prajñāpāramitā text, Manchu follows the version of Hsüan-tsang and hence his numeration of the books in Manchu.

Bawden (p. 79) points out that Book 6 Devarāja-pravara-prajñāpāramitā, a part of the Suvikrānta-vikrami-paripṛcchā, is similar to text 231 in the Taisho Tripiṭaka, which was translated by Upaśūnya in AD 565 (K8, Nj 9). The Manchu does not correspond to Upaśūnya's translation (Taisho 231) but to Hsüan-tsang's (Taisho 220.6, Nj lf, Kl. 6). The details of Manchu Books 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10 given by Bawden confirm beyond doubt that Hsüan-tsang is being followed and no other translation.

(5) The question arises: which edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka begins with the Mahā-prajñāpāramitā. The Ming edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka commences with this title. Thus we come to the surmise that the Manchu Tripiṭaka was based on the Ming

Tripiṭaka. This surmise is confirmed by the fact that the Manchu Tripiṭaka was preceded by the appropriate transliteration of 10,402 dhāraṇīs in 451 sūtras of the Ming Tripiṭaka into four scripts in the following order: Manchu, newly created unified system of Chinese transcription, Mongolian and Tibetan.

(6) A word of caution is essential. Scholars refer to the Taisho edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, as it is a widely accessible edition. It has changed the traditional sequence of texts, and thereby curtailed its utility for a comparative study with the Manchu Tripiṭaka, and to solve related problems. A photomechanic reproduction of the Ming Tripiṭaka is a *sine qua non* for Manchu, Mongol and other literary as well as artistic development during the Ch'ien-lung period. It should be undertaken at the earliest. It will impart a new dimension to our studies and at the same time resolve quite a few enigmas.

(7) The Manchu Canon has been termed the Manchu Kanjur by Fuchs (1930:388) in keeping with its popular nomenclature. This appelation goes back to the times of Changcha Hutuktu who was instrumental in getting the Manchu translation completed. Before the commencement of the Manchu translation an intensive planning was undertaken under the leadership of the Changcha Hutuktu. The counterparts of the Chinese sūtras must have been traced in the Tibetan and Mongolian editions of the Kanjur to facilitate their translation into Manchu. We know for certain that dhāraṇīs that occurred in the Ming edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka were compiled and corrected with the help of Tibetan. They were published as a quadrilingual collection of dhāraṇīs in Manchu, Chinese, Mongolian and Tibetan. It deserves notice that the Manchu text comes first, thus emphasizing that the collection was intended to be a Manchu work. It bears the title in four languages as follows:

Manchu:	han-i araha manju nikan monggo tanggut hergen-i kamchiha amba g'anjur nomun-i uheri tarni
Chinese:	yü chih man han meng-ku hsi fan ho pi ta tsang ch'üan chou
Mongolian:	qaγan-u bičigsen manǰu kitad mongγol töbed kelen qabsuraγsan bügüli ganǰur-un tarni
Tibetan:	rgyal-pos mdzad-paḥi mañdzu rgya hor bod yig bzhi-yi skad śan-sbyar-baḥi bkaḥ-ḥgyur-gyi sṅags tshaṅ-bar bkod-pa.

In all the titles the Chinese Tripiṭaka is termed Kanjur: Manchu *g'anjur*, Mong. *ganjur*, Tib. *bkaḥ-ḥgyur*. The Chinese title has Ta-tsang 大藏 which is the usual term for the Tripiṭaka. When I started to publish this quadrilingual collection in 1966 under the title *Sanskrit Texts from the Imperial Palace at Peking*, I was faced with the problem of finding out the Sanskrit titles from the Tibetan Kanjur and/or from the

Chinese Tripiṭaka. I could not trace them back to the Chinese Tripiṭaka as all the Chinese titles had been changed to accord with the Lamaist tradition. It was futile to try to trace back the Tibetan titles to the Tibetan Kanjur. The Tibetan titles were translations of the Chinese, though externally they bore such a deluding Lamaist garb that I was always tempted to try my luck to locate them in the Tibetan Kanjur. In 1966-68 I completed the reproduction of the first two cases comprising 20 fascicules with a general indication of their contents. It was impossible to correlate them to specific titles in the Tibetan or Chinese Canons. For seven years (1969-1975) I struggled to correlate the dhāraṇī collection. In the meantime I got interested in Bunyiu Nanjio's Catalogue of the Ming edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, and in 1976 I discovered to my great delight that the dhāraṇī collection followed the precise sequence of the Ming Tripiṭaka. Immediately I set out to reproduce the remaining six cases with the title of every text correlated to Nanjio's catalogue and its corresponding number in the Taisho edition. Bunyiu Nanjio had fortunately catalogued the Ming Tripiṭaka, which was the basis of the Manchu Tripiṭaka and of other Buddhist studies and translation projects in China during the Ch'ien-lung period. Its use is a must to understand the academic achievements of this long and eventful reign in the domains of Tibetan, Mongolian, Manchu and Chinese Buddhism.

It is important to observe that the dhāraṇī collection was redacted during the years 1748-1758, and its printing was completed in 1773. The plan of the translation of the Manchu Tripiṭaka was finalised in 1773 (Fuchs 1930:391). It means that the Manchu transcriptions of dhāraṇīs in the Ming edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka were finalised *before* its Manchu translation was undertaken. The correct pronunciation of the dhāraṇīs was important. This reinforces the fact that the Manchu Tripiṭaka was translated from the Chinese. Had it been translated from the Tibetan or Mongolian Kanjur the redaction of the transcription of the dhāraṇīs was unnecessary and would not have been undertaken.

(8) When Manchu was closer to Mongolian than to Chinese what was the reason for taking the Chinese Tripiṭaka as the basis of the Manchu Tripiṭaka. Majority of Manchu literature was a translation from Chinese. To translate from Chinese into Manchu was a well established tradition. Professional translators from Chinese to Manchu abounded. A project of the vastness of the Manchu Tripiṭaka demanded a host of translators. Availability of man-power, the predilection of Manchu literati to transcreate from Chinese and the developed linguistic technology of translating from Chinese into Manchu were some of the primary factors that influenced the Imperial decision to prepare a Manchu Tripiṭaka on the basis of the Chinese Tripiṭaka. Is it also an indication of the extent of sinification of the Manchus by the time of Emperor Ch'ien-lung?

(9) The designation of the Manchu Canon as the 'Manchu Kanjur' poses the question of its relationship to the Tibetan and/or Mongolian Kanjurs. The Ch'ien-lung editions of both the Tibetan and Mongolian Kanjurs are exactly identical in contents and sequence. They have the same number of texts and in the same sequence. Each volume of the Mongolian Kanjur has the same texts as that of the corresponding Tibetan Kanjur. Both begin with the tantra division and end with the vinaya. Both the Kanjurs begin with the Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṅgīti. Had the Manchu Tripiṭaka been a 'Kanjur' in the strict sense of the term, the first texts would have been the tantras commencing with the Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṅgīti, and not with the Prajñāpāramitās.

(10) The Manchu Tripiṭaka was accorded a Lamaist milieu in its collective appellation, pothi style, size of the volume, binding style, the total number of 108 volumes, editorial format, manner of illustrations, the Tibetan-Mongolian system of giving the title of the work in original languages: Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese and Manchu. The name of the personage on the panel of the front cover is written in Manchu script and language on the left, and on the right in Tibetan script and language (Bawden 1980: 68). The cover panels are similar to the Mongolian Kanjur, "specifically to those in volumes 46 and 47, which are, in content, those most closely comparable with the present work, and which have been examined". The close conformity of the Manchu Tripiṭaka to the Lamaist traditions was a natural consequence of its redaction under the supervision of the Changcha Hutuktu. This was due to the Manchu Emperors being basically Lamaist in their faith and in deference to the commanding personality of its chief redactor the Changcha Hutuktu who was a close friend of Emperor Ch'ien-lung as well as the Imperial Preceptor. Thus it came to be known as the Manchu Kanjur. For the Tibetans and Mongols, Kanjur is their Buddhist Canon and by semantic extension any Buddhist Canon. When the quadrilingual collection of dhāraṇīs was compiled from the Ming Tripiṭaka, the Chinese Tripiṭaka was designated Kanjur in its extended meaning. The size, the pothi style, the cover boards, miniatures on the front and back boards, detailed by Bawden clearly point to the Tibetan/Mongolian Kanjurs as the prototype and inspiration of its *external* format. On the end board of the available volume of the Manchu Tripiṭaka the following goddesses are illustrated: Zhal-bzaṅ-ma, Blo-bzaṅ-ma, Mgrin-bzaṅ-ma, Ḥgro-bzaṅ-ma. They are four of the Five Long-life Sisters. They clearly belong to Lamaism. They simply do not exist in Chinese Buddhism.

The extant volume of the Manchu Tripiṭaka gives the titles in Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese and Manchu. It is a normal practice in the Tibetan Kanjur to give the Sanskrit and Tibetan titles. The Mongolian Kanjur gives the Sanskrit, Tibetan and Mongolian

titles. The Manchu follows the same Lamaist usage: Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese and Manchu. The citation of the Sanskrit and Tibetan titles in the Manchu Tripiṭaka was from the Kanjur. In Chinese practice the Sanskrit title was never cited in transliteration, nor was it ever translated verbatim; the Sanskrit title had no special sanctity. It was changed to conform to Chinese literary sensibilities. For example, the Pañcaviṁśati-sāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā has three different titles, all not translated from Sanskrit:

Nj 2 Fang kuang pan-jo-mi ching
Lit.: Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra (with the first chapter on) emitting light

Nj 3 Mo-ho-pan-jo-po-lo-mi ching
Lit.: Māha-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra

Nj 4 Kuang tsan pan-jo-po-lo-mi ching
Lit.: Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra (with the first chapter on) the praise of light

Lamaist proclivity is visible already in the precursor project of the quadrilingual dhāraṇī collection. This predilection to impart a Lamaist flavour is further evident in the re-translations of the titles of the Chinese sūtras in this collection. The sūtras are not given the titles of the Tibetan Kanjur though that was possible, but they are provided with new Tibetistic titles. The distinction between the Kanjur and the Tripiṭaka titles was thus maintained alongside the Lamaist impress.

The Imperial Foreword to the Manchu Tripiṭaka (Fuchs 1930:395-6) says that the first translation of Buddhist sūtras is in Tibetan, the second in Chinese and the third in Mongolian. Though the Manchu dynasty had ruled over China for a century, how was it possible that there was no Manchu Canon. It points out that the Manchu translation of the Chinese Canon was undertaken in AD 1773 after Emperor Ch'ien-lung had attained 60 years of age, and that he was apprehensive if he would ever live to see it completed. Two decades later, the Emperor was delighted to see the Manchu Tripiṭaka concluded in AD 1790, when he was 80 years of age. His gratitude to Heaven was beyond words: "how fortunate am I that the work has been accomplished in accordance with my wishes".

In the Imperial Memorandum on the "Commission for the Manchu Canon" (*Ch'ing-tsŭ ching kuan*) the Emperor pondered that the dhāraṇī and gāthā were available in the Chinese sūtras only in transcription. Their deep and profound import can be better understood in Manchu and therefore a "Commission for the Manchu Canon" was established within the Hsi-hua-men, under the direction of Changcha Hutuktu. The translation was completed in about ten years, followed by the engraving of their xylographic blocks for printing.

The Imperial Edict (Fuchs 1930:399) of AD 1790 states that princes and dignitaries were delegated to the Commission for the Manchu Canon, who were proficient in translation techniques, who could compare the Chinese and Mongolian versions of the Canon, and who could translate them into Manchu. Changcha Hutuktu was commissioned to supervise the project. As a volume was ready, it was revised and finalised, and then readied for printing. The Changcha Hutuktu made a direct petition to the Emperor wherein he stated that the 108 volumes of the Tibetan Kanjur comprise sūtras spoken by Lord Buddha and in the 225 volumes of the Tanjur are found the works of Indian sages who had attained bodhi. The Chinese Kanjur (note the term Kanjur for the Tripiṭaka) has all sorts of works including those by Chinese monks. I am deciding now to translate in full the sūtras of the classes on Prajñāpāramitā, Ratnakūṭa, Mahāsannipāta, Avataṁsaka, Mahāparinirvāṇa, Madhyamāgama, as well as Mahāyāna Vinaya. Eight works of the sūtras of the sects out of these "5 great classes" as well as of Hīnayāna Vinaya are all written by holy men and seers of India; among them itself there are many repetitions and one should actually shorten them and delete them. The Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna Abhidharma contain now altogether 3676 chüan; and yet there are the works of later patriarchs from our country and actually no utterances of the Buddha and it is worthless to translate such words.

My late Imperial father had entrusted me to publish the complete Canon... It is now for the first time that the Ch'ing-tzu ching kuan issues proper instructions and guiding principles; because if there are no firm prescriptions the monks take over uncritically the ideas of others, and plagiarise; then they also find correlation (of these false works) to (the real) Canon, and complicate the holy script and spread ideas of the esoteric teaching through the medium of errors.

The aforesaid three Imperial documents (namely: the Memorandum, Foreword and Edict) confirm that Manchu was translated from the Chinese Tripiṭaka with the help of Mongolian. The sequence of classes of Chinese sūtras given in the Imperial Edict conforms to that of the Ming edition.* Duplicate Chinese translations, commentarial texts by Indian teachers and exegetical works by Chinese masters were omitted. The supervision of the Changcha Hutuktu ensured that the Manchu Tripiṭaka was in general consonance with the Lamaist tradition of the Kanjur.

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*The sequence of sūtras in the Ming Tripiṭaka is as follows:

First Division: Sūtra-piṭaka

Part I. Mahāyāna Sūtras

Class I. Prajñāpāramitā class

Class II. Ratnakūṭa class

Another fact that emerges is that the Manchu Canon was commenced to commemorate the completion of 60 years of Emperor's life which is the *ṣaṣṭi-pūrti* celebration in India. The Manchu Tripiṭaka was completed when the Emperor had attained the ripe age of 80 years: another landmark in one's life when one becomes a *sahasra-candradarśī* i.e. 'one who has seen a thousand full-moons'. It may be pointed out that the translation of the Manchu Tripiṭaka had been achieved in a decade, but its consummation was postponed to time with the 80th year of the Emperor. Both the 60th and 80th years are momentous milestones in the fullness of a life span, duly consecrated in the eternity of dharma.

In this connection we have to remember that eminent personages were always presented with triple presents reflecting the three planes of *sku* 'body' or *kāya, gsuṅs* 'word' or *vāk*, and *thugs* 'spirit' or *citta*. The sacred objects are called *rten gsum* that is "supports of the physical, verbal and spirituals plane... The images, statues or paintings, are the *sku,* the body, of that essence... A book is the *gsuṅs rten*, the voice, the word, the verbal revelation; the *mchod rten* corresponds to the *thugs*, to the spiritual plane" (Tucci 1949:315). The rejoicings on birthdays provided an opportune occasion for the publication of vast collectanea which entailed tremendous effort and liberal expenditure. The Emperor showered his Mother with pious gifts on her 60th, 70th and 80th birthdays: so

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Class III. Mahāsannipāta class
Class IV. Avataṁsaka class
Class V. Nirvāṇa class
Class VI. Sūtras of duplicate translation, excluded from the preceding five classes
Class VII. Sūtras of single translation, excluded from the five classes

Part II. Hīnayāna Sūtras
Class I. Āgama class
Class II. Sūtras of single translation, excluded from the preceding class

Part III. Sūtras of Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna, admitted into the Canon during the Northern (960-1127) and Southern (1127-1280) Sung and Yüan (1280-1368) dynasties

Second Division: Vinaya-piṭaka
Part I. Mahāyāna Vinaya
Part II. Hīnayāna Vinaya

Third Division: Abhidharma-piṭaka
Part I. Mahāyāna Abhidharma
Part II. Hīnayāna Abhidharma
Part III. Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna Abhidharma admitted into the Canon during the Northern and Southern Sung and Yüan dynasties

Fourth Division: Miscellaneous Works
Part I. Works of the sages and wise men of India
Part II. Works of China (Nj p. ix, x)

we are informed by Hsü Sung in his *Tung-ch'ao ch'ung-yang lu* wherein he lists the gifts received by her. This work deserves to be translated as it would shed valuable light on the literature and art of the Manchu period, and provide chronological landmarks for Mongolian, Manchu and Tibetan studies.

Prof. Bawden (1980:66) speaks of a "four-language Tripiṭaka described in Wei-tsang t'ung-chih" (ch. 16.413-414, quoted in Fuchs 1930:388). The Chinese does not refer to a four-language Tripiṭaka, but to translations of the Canon in 108 volumes in four languages which were Tibetan, Mongolian, Chinese and Manchu. The Tibetan, Mongolian and Manchu Canons were in 108 volumes each in pothi style. The number of 108 volumes as applied to the Chinese Tripiṭaka can be taken in the sense of a complete set, though we will have to find out the number of cases in the Ming Tripiṭaka.

To conclude, the Manchu Tripiṭaka was a selective version of the Chinese Tripiṭaka in the Ming edition, couched by intention in a Lamaist garb as if it were a Manchu Kanjur.

25. THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF JAPAN

日本とインドの文化交流

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Lokesh Chandra博士は昭和六十二年十月一日，国際交流基金（Japan Foundation）より奨励賞を受賞されたが，(1)アジア人が受賞したのは初めてである，(2)仏教学者としても最初の受賞である，(3)多年日本の仏教文化をインドに紹介することに尽力されたという点で注目された。

これを記念して（財団法人）東方研究会，日印文化協会共催による公開講演会が国際交流基金講堂で開催された。受賞者の記念講演も最初の事例である。以下は同博士の講演原稿の和訳である。　（中村　元）

話を始めるにあたり，私はまず，アジアとヨーロッパの両岸に波よせる大洋を越えて相互理解の輪をひろげ続けておられる国際交流基金に，お礼を申しのべたいと思います。

日本は時の面からみてもっとも古い国でありますが，同時に，実際行動の面でもすぐれておりまして，東洋の伝承と西欧の革新がぶつかって生じた大変動に秩序と調和をもたらしています。

多くの先輩たちも同様でありましたが，中村元先生は私たちの文化のパターンと見通し，そしてその智慧に深い思いを寄せられ，それらが活力に満ちた現代に通ずる道をひろく開かれました。日本の学者たちが文化の面でなしとげた功績は偉大です。そして先生はその先頭に立っておられるのであります。仏教の智慧と神道の自然主義，そして科学の活力によって，日本は東と西という両立しがたいものを両立させました。いまや人間と人間が出会って，一つになったのであります。

心のいたむ思いがするのですが，インドにとって日本は何世紀もの間，知られることなく，沈黙を守っていました。今や日本は，かつてヴァールミーキの

詩才がしてみせてくれたように，その苦しみ（śoka）の中から現れ出た悦こび（śloka）なのです。（『ラーマーヤナ』という）叙事詩を著したインドの詩人ヴァールミーキは，猟師に伴侶を射たれて悩む一つがいの鳥をみた時，その悲しみ（śoka）を詩（śloka）にうたいあげました。同じように，私たちの沈黙の歴史は，新しい未来への火花ときらめかなければなりません。私たちは日本を驚異と畏怖の念をもって仰いでいます。日本は私たちの士気を鼓舞するものであり，創造への触媒であり，そして，夢であると同時に，現実なのです。

日本の普遍的本質とは日本の集合意識です。今日の日本はその本質（本地）が現れたもの（垂迹）にほかなりません。そして，日本の集合意識は（歴史的に）生き永らえてきたばかりか，日本の貴重な資質に転化し，生活のさまざまなレヴェルで響き合っています。古いものがあり，そして現代のものがあり，共に活力の生きたシンボルになっています。鉄とガラスでできた高層建築がサムライの刀を売る店と並んでいるのです。日本は心を魅了し，眼をたのしませてくれます。今日のエレクトロニクスと凍結されていた文化の諸レヴェルが，日本人の暖かい生活の現実のなかに脈打っているのです。

明治維新は日本の歴史における分水嶺です。格言にいう「和魂洋才」——日本の心と西欧の技術——が奇蹟を演じました。これこそが今日，アジアが必要としている理想なのであって，それによってこそ，自らは何もせずに西欧にたよりきっている灰の中から立ち上がることができます。日本人の語るところは何時も明瞭で，目標も正確であり，しかも勤勉に働くことを理想としています。ある日本の学者が十九世紀にルーブル美術館を訪れたことがありました。地獄で罪人が労働させられている絵画があったのですが，この日本人は驚いて声をあげました。「勤勉に働くことが罰なのですか？」。インドで仏教の修行者は比丘（bhikṣu）として知られていますが「托鉢するもの」の意味です。また沙門（śramaṇa）ともいいますが「努めはげむ者」を意味します。中国，日本では沙門というのは最高の褒め言葉です。労働に幸あれ，です。『バガヴァッド・ギーター』も「汝の心を用いるのは，ただ，なすべき仕事のみにあれ」といっています。働くことこそが私たちを自由にしてくれるのであります。

日本の心，精神，知性そして行動を転じて（日本のみに限らない）中立の領

域のものとする，つまり，何処にも属さず特別のものでないものになったとき，それは何時の日にか世界の文化となるものでありましょう。

岡倉天心は1902年，詩人のラビンドラナート・タゴールの家に滞在しておりましたが，これがインド文化のルネッサンスをもたらすことになりました。タゴールとの話し合いの中から，天心の最初の英文による出版である「The ideals of the East」(『東洋の理想』) が結晶してきました。天心とは「天の心」(The Heart of Heaven) の意味で，彼は「アジアはひとつ」という理念を提唱したのですが，これに対してE.B. ハヴェル，R. タゴール，A.K. クマーラスワーミが応答しています。現代インド絵画の開拓者であるアバニンドラナート・タゴール，ナンドラル・ボースやその他の人たちは日本画の絵筆と絵の具を用いて，彼等の新しい創作のなかに日本画の透明な霊気を反映させました。日本の図像の手引書にあるスケッチはインド美術の新古典派の台頭に力をかしています。中国，日本の筆は表現力の豊かな道具であります。筆は万里の長城を建設するとき部分的に監督したという蒙恬(モウテン)将軍が作りだしたものです。鹿の毛を山羊の毛でつつみこみ，そして先端を鋭くとがらせた鋭敏な筆。これが万里の長城の建築を早め，夷狄から文化をまもったのです。二千年後，インドの視覚文化は日本の筆で生命をふきこまれました。天心は言っております。「心は心に語りかける。私たちは語られざるものを聞き，見えざるものを見るのだ」と。同様にクマーラスワーミも「心を自由に放ち解くのは詩人の仕事である」と言っています。この考え方は彼の諸研究の中にこだましていて，(例えば)1935年，ハーヴァード大学から出版された『仏教図像の諸要素』の中で，彼は日本の美術とヴェーダ文献の中に並行するもののあることを見いだしています。こうした文化の出会いは私たちインド人の心の奥底，エトスに深い印象を残しました。インドは自由ということと日本を結びつけていて，私たちの何人かの革命家たちは日本に庇護をもとめているのであります。

漢字は日本とインドを最深のレヴェルで結びつけています。日本の仏典はすべて漢字で書かれています。また漢字は（それ自体が）表意された世界であって，一個の漢字の中にいくつもある字画，きちっと決まったその筆順，全体の有機的な美しさによって，一種のきびしさとひたむきさ，そして縮小された世

界という感覚を引き起こします。それは点，線そして四角形にたいして湧き上ってくる感情です。いくつかの四角い小石が苔の絨緞(ジュウタン)に置かれていて，女神(メガミ)がはだしで訪れてくるのを待っているような。表意文字は日本人の生活の生きた姿なのです。私たちの結びつきも漢字のごとく永遠です。

私たち両国は文化の糸をわかちあっています。西暦552年，百済王は金色に輝く仏像と経典を送って，仏教は正式に日本に導入されました。文書，行政，機織，冶金，暦法，建築などの一群の技術者たちも新しい仏教教団とともにやってきました。

聖徳太子は正(マサ)しく日本の文明をきずいた方と言うべきであります。593年，太子は新しい教団への報恩のしるしとして大阪に四天王寺を建てられましたが，これは当時の建築の偉業であります。604年には十七条の憲法を宣布，ここに三宝が行政に人間味を与えることになりました。太子はまた法華，維摩，勝鬘の三経に注釈をほどこすことで，日本文学を産みだされました。つまりこれら三経義疏は日本人の書いた最初の書物であって，日本の文学はここに始まったのであります。それから約半世紀の短い間に奇蹟が演じられ，日本の文学と王宮は中国大陸のそれに匹敵するまでになりました。

日本の国家にとって，仏教は活力にみちた安定を与えるものでした。東大寺の大仏は日本の資力と技術の頂点を示しています。この大仏を開眼したのがインド僧のボーディセーナ（菩堤僊那）で，773年に大阪に到着しています。かれは大安寺でサンスクリットを教えましたが，これは日本語が必要としていた音標システムへの道を示したものであります。九世紀初頭には弘法大師が真言の教えを日本にもたらしています。真言には多くのマントラ（真言）があって，悉曇文字で書かれていました。仮名の字音表はここから派生したもののように思われます。真言の教えでは誰でもが潜在的な仏陀であり(buddhāṅkura)，悟る権利をもっています。そのためには教育が必要であり，弘法大師は上下の分けへだてなく，すべてのクラスの人に教育をひろめました。教育が民主化されたことは，日本が発展する一つの大きなステップだったのであります。

インドが苦労しているものを，日本は優雅にやりとげてしまいます。最小の行数で豊富な形を表現することがそれです。頑ななまでの簡素さ，ぎりぎりの

形式，形あるもの（rūpa）の放棄（sannyāsa），に美しさを見いだすことです。俳句は寂寞（セキバク）の情と最小の言葉が姿をとったものです。インドでは草ぶき小屋は埃にまみれているのですが，日本では塵ひとつとどめない小屋になります。禅は原初的なものを絶妙な花に変形させてしまいます。同じことを日本は現代の技術にたいしてやってのけました。bhavasāgara，つまり存在の大洋とよばれる現象世界が空であることを，龍安寺の石庭や枯れ山水は示しています。すなわち夢幻の海を渡って光明の悟りの岸辺に向かい，存在の大洋の赤茶けたさざなみを越えていくのであります。

東大寺の大仏開眼供養が行われた際，チャンパー（林邑）つまりベトナム僧の仏徹がサンスクリットの音楽を紹介しています。かれの舞楽，「千秋楽」は今日でも演じられるサンスクリットの舞楽の最古の形式です。日本の国家的な宝となっていますし，インドでも同様で，インド音楽史の専門家が注目するに値します。

さらにサンスクリットはインド，日本両国の共通の言語の遺産です。日本では1920年代になっても，伴題（バンダイ）（または和南（ワナン））が手紙の末尾に敬具の意味で使われていましたが，これはサンスクリットのvandeつまり「私は礼拝します」（の音写語）であります。寺院の屋根の瓦（カワラ）はkapāla（タイル，瓦）ですし，葡萄（ブドウ）はmṛdvīです。如月（キサラギ）は「木々が芽ぶく早春」ですが，これはサンスクリットkisalayīですし，鼓（ツヅミ）はdundubhiです。人力車は（インドで）ポピュラー（な乗り物）ですが，ヒンディー語でrikishaといいます。以前，私たちは鈴木大拙師の禅の本を読みましたが，今日，私たちはスズキの自動車に乗っています。心は鈴木先生によって満たされ，インドの道路はいまやスズキの車で一杯であります。日本は突拍子もないものを好む傾向もあります。塔（stūpa）は遺骨や経典，仏像を納めるものですが，ある五輪塔には小野小町の恋文が納められています。儒教的ではないのですが，似たような話がサンスクリットの叙情詩「ギーターゴーヴィンダ」にあります。

仏教ははるかな旅路を越えて日本にやってきただけに，日本人はインドの巡礼の旅に出ることを望みました。818年，金剛三昧（Vajrasamādhi）は中国を経てインドに来ました。彼はナーランダ寺院の食堂に何百万という蝿が群がっ

ているが，僧たちが食事のために坐ると居なくなってしまう，などという大変に具体的な観察をしています。850年代には法道（Dharmabodhi）が百日間続く坐禅をしています。七十日目に一人の美しい女性がはいってきて，彼は恋におちたと言います。悔恨の念いとどめがたく，彼は中国からインドの霊鷲山に赴いて罪をあがなおうとしています。861年には高丘親王が中国にきて，さらにインドにむけて船出しましたが，途中のマレーシアで客死しています。明恵上人（1163—1222）は遂にインドに行くことができませんでした。彼は自分の僧院の前にある山を前正覚山（Prāgbodhi），そこからの流れを尼連禅河（Nairañjanā）と呼んで自らを慰めています。徳川時代になると，華厳宗の大学匠である鳳潭は，この水は仏教の母国の岸に連なっているのだと考えて，海岸で足を洗っていたのであります。

日本人と同じように，インドの修行者もまた昔から日本に来ることを考えていました。早く六世紀には，ひとりのインドの修行者が片岡の町で托鉢して生きていました。聖徳太子がこの人について詩をのこしています。七世紀中葉には法道（Dharmabodhi）が中国を経て来日し，法華山に定住しています。彼は千手観音の小像をもっており，王宮の医師がなおせなかった天皇の病気をなおして健康を取り戻させました。651年には大蔵会を行っています。別のインド僧泰澄は683年に越智山に住んでいます。773年に菩堤僊那が大阪につくと，彼はすぐに国の名士となり，日本の将来に大きな歴史的影響をおよぼしました。皇室は多大の報償を彼に与えましたが，それはちょうど，皆さんが今日私にしてくださったのと同じであります。人々に愛された彼は聖武天皇と共に東大寺の発足にかかわった四人のなかの一人となりました。彼の墓は今も登美山の林にあります。799年，一人のインド人が三河のどこかに流れ着いています。粗末な上着と下ばきを身につけただけの二十ぐらいの青年でした。言葉の判る者が一人もいない所にほうりだされたのですが，後年，日本語が話せるようになった時，自分はインドから来たのだと言いました。奈良の川原寺にすんでいたのですが，ワタの実を持ってきていました。『日本後紀』及び『類聚国史』の記述によると，衣類の原料としてきわめて重要なワタの栽培はこの青年が導入したものだといいます。因に日本語の綿，つまりワタ，またはハタはサンスクリット

のpaṭaに由来するものです。

私たちの時代になって，詩人タゴールはこうした歴史的な結び付きを「日印両国が精神的仲間として生きる理想の関係」として捉え直しました。彼はそれを「詩人の道」と呼びました。ほぼ十五世紀にわたって輝いてきた道であります。インドと日本が一つになること，これは人々の心に慈悲をもって唇づけし，永遠の平和に至らしめるための大きな推進力であり，意義深い運動なのです。ある画家は「われに止まるべき一枝を与えよ，さらば鳥のごとく歌わん」と言いました。私たちが一つになることはその枝にあたりましょう，そして私たちの使命が歌なのです。

日本がうけついできた広汎な文化遺産はアジアの歴史を解釈するのにきわめて有用であります。日本語の観音は音という字でおわります。いかなる謎が観音の沈黙に秘められているのでしょうか。人は超越者の言葉で浄化され，観音像を仰いで自らの存在を高めていきます。私はこれを出発点として中国，日本，サンスクリット，チベット，そしてインドネシアにまたがる観音の複雑なシステムを明らかにしました。日本語の「観音」はサンスクリットの原語がAvalokita-svaraではなかったか，という疑問を提出いたします。実際，この語形は中央アジア出土のサンスクリットの写本に見いだされました。これは十地の菩薩たるAvalokitaとして発展し，独立の神格として崇拝されました。後にĪśvara（自在），つまりŚiva神の影響をうけて，混肴した神格であるAvalokiteśvaraすなわち観自在となったのであります。この名称は646年に玄奘が『大唐西域記』を書く時代までに確立されています。観自在の信仰はシヴァ信仰にとってかわりました。次第に，他の民間信仰的な神々もLokeśvaraまたはLokanāthaとしてとりこまれましたが，中国・日本では伝統的にこれらすべてに観音の名称を用い続けました。観音の三十三の化身というのはこうして人々に愛好された神々が内部にとりこまれた結果なのであります。

年代考証についても，日本はインド美術史に決定的な証拠を提供します。653—4年に長安で仕事をしていた阿地瞿多の『陀羅尼集経』は，インド及びインドネシアの図像学に最も古い目標を与えてくれます。これは1114年ごろに生きていたAbhayakaraguptaのNiṣpannayogāvalīより四世紀も古いのであります。

私が中国を訪れている時，中国仏教の歴史のことを尋ねると何時も返ってくる答えは，判でおしたように，「それは日本で見いだされるでしょう」ということでした。

日本の真言宗は平安時代以降の夥しい数の根本聖典，教理的論書と儀軌の手引き，彫刻と絵画を伝承しています。これらはインドネシアの，例えばチャンディ・セウ，ガンジュックの貯蔵所，チャンディ・ムンドゥト，そしてボロブドゥル等の金剛界マンダラをあらわしている遺跡についての新しい知見を与えてくれるのであります。またインドネシアの『サンヒヤン・カマハーヤニカン（聖大乗論）』のような文献も日本の資料によって新鮮な解釈が可能になります。チャンディ・パオンの意味を新しく知るには日本の護摩（homa）儀礼を含む四度加行の光をあてなければなりません。

アジアの文化を歴史的に見ると多彩な糸が錯綜しているのですが，それを解釈するために，日本は驚くべきほど多様な要素を提示してくれています。サマルカンドからカラチまで，スリランカからスマトラまで，ジャヴァからチャンパー，中国から韓国まで，およそアジアにかつて存在したものはすべて日本にのみ生きていて，バラバラになった断片的な証拠を首尾一貫した全体にまとめさせてくれるのです。

アジアは日本を心がさまたげられることなく輝いている国と見ています。インドの悟りの種から日本の土壌に禅がそだちました。アジアは，禅の言葉をかりるなら自由と自在にいたる道を，日本と共に巡礼に出たいとのぞんでいるのであります。

最後に，私の名前のローケーシュLokeshはLokeśvaraで，観音のことです。チャンドラChandraは月であります。私はいま日本にいて観音に頭をたれています。そして，チャンドラ，月，は茅屋にいる西行の詩を思い出させてくれます。それは草ぶきの朽ちかけた小屋にさしこむ月の光とのランデブーの詩であります。

波の音を心にかけて明かすかな
　苫もる月のかげを友にて

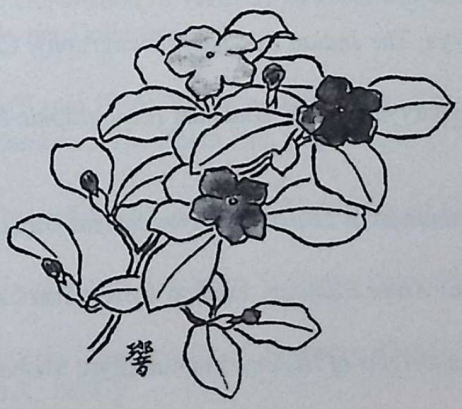
詩人と月の合一は人生のはかなさと，かそけさです。風にゆられて，花は散

ります：風さそう花の行方は……と（西行も言って）いるではありませんか。現象の諸相（スガタ）はそのまま絶対の存在です。私たちの内心，奥底の声は創造と伝統の新しい勝利の冠を求めているのであります。

以　上

（ローケーシュ・チャンドラ　インド国際アカデミー理事長）

（なら・やすあき　駒沢大学教授）



茉莉花

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